



ALICE in many tongues

The translations of ALICE IN WONDERLAND



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The translations of ALICE IN WONDERLAND

Warren Weaver

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To A. E. B.
whose name is Alice, too

Preface

The preparation of this small book has involved my asking favors of many of my friends. I am especially indebted to those who did the “retranslations” (see pages 78–80), and to Mr. William H. McCarthy and the Rosenbach Museum of Philadelphia for gracious permission to quote at length from their Dodgson-Macmillan correspondence. The Friends of the Princeton Library have kindly granted permission to reprint, in Chapters II and III, material which originally appeared in the *Princeton University Library Chronicle*, Vol. XIII, No. 1 (August, 1951). For permission to reproduce the page from the Sheldon Press edition of *Alice* in Swahili, I am grateful to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; for the page from the Bengali *Alice*, to Ashoke Pustakalaya; for *Alice* in Japanese, to the Kaiseisha Publishing Company; and for the Croatian *Alice*, to the Mladost Publishing Company.

My indebtedness to Alice Buckner for hundreds of hours of expert assistance in connection with my Carroll collection is inadequately recognized by the dedication of this volume to her.

The Rowfant Club of Cleveland invited me some considerable time ago to speak at one of their meetings. I talked to them in March, 1961, about the translations of *Alice in Wonderland* into foreign languages, using as my title "Alice in the Tower of Babel." So I am indebted to that distinguished literary group for having furnished the occasion which initiated the writing of this book.

A book of this sort—and I am referring here especially to the checklist in the Appendix—is inevitably incomplete. And in spite of a good deal of care, there are undoubtedly some inaccuracies. If anyone who sees this book knows of a translation I have missed, or recognizes an error of any sort, I will greatly appreciate being told. Any suggestion as to where or how the author could acquire any volume in the checklist which lacks the symbol "W" would of course be particularly welcome!

WARREN WEAVER

Second Hill
New Milford, Connecticut
October, 1963

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FRONTISPIECE

Lewis Carroll. From an etching by Alfred Goldsmith

FOLLOWING PAGE 84

Pictorial cover of the first Swedish edition

Alice in Bengali

Alice in Thai

Alice in Croatian

Alice in Hebrew

Alice in Swahili

Alice in Japanese

Pictorial cover of the first Danish edition

ALICE in many tongues

The translations of ALICE IN WONDERLAND

The Universal Child

I If through some strange set of circumstances I found myself on a desert isle, alone except for a Chinese peasant or a Kikuyu warrior or a Bolivian shepherd, then this person and I would have a common reaction. Each would think the other queer. Each would be surprised and confused by the other's language. Each would consider the other to have strange habits and even stranger ideas.

But if you thus put together two small children selected from any two cultures in the world, their mutual reaction would, I am sure, be quite different. Neither would pay any particular attention to the other's skin color. Neither would permit language difference to cause an isolation. What would happen, after an initial moment of shyness, is that the two children would play together.

This universality of childhood is a marvelous, a moving, and indeed an exceedingly promising phenomenon. It contains a vague but hopeful hint of the day when all the human beings on this planet can in fact act as understanding and open-minded companions, one of another.

The eagerness with which young children disregard barriers of race, color, and creed is apparent in the very title of the lovely book *The Children Come Running*, sponsored by UNICEF. Indeed, the program of UNICEF—serving, in the words of Maurice Pate, its distinguished executive director, the “vast world of one billion children”—illustrates in a way which is at once noble and practical the reality of the world-wide unity of children.

There are many evidences of the universality of childhood. If you look at the familiar painting by Pieter Brueghel called *Children's Games*, you will find, in this Dutch scene of four centuries ago, children playing with a hoop, a top, a kite, marbles, and jacks, and taking part in line games such as hop-scotch, hiding games, and others—just as they are doing today on the streets of Brooklyn or Vladivostok or Buenos Aires, just as they are doing in Afghanistan or Uruguay or the South Sea Islands or Iceland or anywhere else on this globe. An archeologist, digging in Turkey, has recently reported that the children there played marbles and jacks (the latter using the knucklebones of cattle) 7,500 years ago.

A few years ago I drove across part of central Africa, very near the equator. In the remote center of the Congo (perhaps I should say, in the *then* remote center of the Congo) I saw charming little black children playing a game which used to be a favorite in my own far-distant childhood. A small block of wood with tapered ends rests on the ground. You hit one end sharply with a stick, and this makes the block jump up off the ground. Then, when it is in the air, you hit it a second time, with a horizontal blow, to see how far you can knock it. This game, I understand, is played in every single part of this planet. I had

supposed it was invented by a companion and me in Madison, Wisconsin. But no—it was invented by that closely knit fraternity, the children of the world.

There is physiological evidence for the universality of childhood. I am told that every normal baby, wherever born on this planet, is capable of voicing every known phoneme—the basic sounds out of which words are made. The baby in Back Bay Boston can, for example, make the glottal click used by the Zulus, and Oriental babies can make the *l* sound with which their parents have so much trouble.¹ As far as its inherent capacity for speech is concerned, a new baby is a citizen of the world. Only when a child becomes old enough to pay attention to the sounds of the culture in which he happens to have been born does he lose the capacity to pronounce the “strange” or “foreign” phonemes and concentrate on the special noises of the surrounding adults.

Iona and Peter Opie, in their fascinating book *The Lore and Language of Schoolchildren*, give many examples of the sayings and games that, as items of oral tradition, are passed from child to child with an almost unbelievable accuracy, and with a speed of transmission that at times is really mysterious. It is worth noticing that oral material passed from child to child is transmitted more accurately than is similar material, such as nursery rhymes, which is propagated in a communication chain wherein adults usually alternate with children. It is also worth noticing that city children are as active and as

¹ To say nothing of the Polish *ó*, the Pekingese *hs*, the Welsh *l*, the retroflex consonant sounds of Hindi, and the higher low and low front rounded-position vowels first noticed in Mongolian in 1950.

skillful in carrying on the world-wide traditions of childhood as are country children. What they lose because of the intrusion of other diversions they gain because of the multiplicity of contacts. "The world-wide fraternity of children," Douglas Newton once said, "is the greatest of savage tribes, and the only one which shows no sign of dying out."

I have been responsibly told that the words in some of the counting rhymes which children use for skipping rope, ball bouncing, and "counting out" can be traced back to Sanskrit. I have not been able to check this suggestion in any solemn treatise on anthropology or linguistics. If it is false, I prefer not to know this fact; for I so enjoy believing that it is true. Indeed, I have erected a theory on this shaky base: that the gypsies, who appear and mysteriously disappear at points all over this planet and whose special language is known to be closely related to Sanskrit, have played a stealthy but effective role in spreading the language of childhood.

All this makes it easy, I think, to understand why *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* has had so broad an appeal to children around the world. It is universal precisely because childhood is universal. And something of the essence of childhood certainly is contained in this remarkable book—the innocent fun, the natural acceptance of marvels, combined with a healthy and at times slightly saucy curiosity about them, the element of confusion concerning the strange way in which the adult world behaves, the complete and natural companionship with animals, and an intertwined mixture of the rational and the irrational. For all of these, whatever the accidents of geography, are part and parcel of childhood.

That *Alice* has indeed appealed widely to the world's children is evidenced by the number of times that the story has been translated and the enthusiasm with which the translations—even those which do not seem especially skillful—have been received. For however British *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* was in its origins, it has become known and loved all over the world. It is the central purpose here to tell the story of the translations of *Alice* into many tongues, to question how such a verbally complex and curious book can be translated at all, and to set forth some of the record of the extent to which *Alice*, her adventures, and her madcap assortment of companions have captured the attention of both children and adults in many lands and many languages.

And it is important to recognize that the audience for *Alice*, at least in the English-speaking world, consists of two groups—children and adults. Thus far, I have been speaking of *Alice* as a child's book. But *Alice in Wonderland* is, in effect, two books: a book for children and a book for adults. Its interest, its fantasy, its humor, and its logic all operate at two levels. I know that adults often wonder why and how *Alice* can appeal to children. I suspect that children wonder why adults like it.

Children, I am confident, enjoy *Alice* primarily because of the excitement, the novelty, and the wonder of the narrative events of the story, and because of the fantastically odd characters. It is a different matter to ask why *Alice*, as an adult's book, is so generally popular. Doubtless this is partly because adults very generally find cleverness recognizable and attractive; and because they have an interest in and a respect for logic, combined with a delight in not letting logic dominate in too mechanical and imperious a manner. All adults—even mathematicians

—can get a sly satisfaction out of a remark once made by Dr. C. F. Kettering, noted inventor and for many years the head of the General Motors Research Laboratory: “Beware of logic. It is an organized way of going wrong with confidence.”

Perhaps adults also love *Alice* for a deeper and more important reason. Most adults, most successful adults, most happy adults, never really or quite stop being children. In one of the later editions in his language, Dr. Y. R. Chao, the translator of *Alice* into Chinese, has included at the beginning of the book this quotation from the ancient sage Mencius: “A great man is one who does not lose the heart of a child.”

But before we proceed with a discussion of the translations of *Alice*, we ought to take a brief look at its author, and review the extraordinary story of how the book came to be written and published.

The Author

II

Charles Lutwidge Dodgson first saw whatever dull light there was on a late January day in 1832 at a parsonage near the village of Daresbury, Cheshire. The outward facts of his life are soon told. A move to Croft in Yorkshire when he was eleven, school at Richmond and Rugby until he was seventeen. Then, just at the midway mark of the century, he went up to Oxford, and stayed there forty-seven years, until he died. He moved sedately up the more modest rungs of the academic ladder at Christ Church, taking a B.A. with a First in mathematics in 1854. He was made sublibrarian in 1855, and then a member of the regular teaching staff, lecturing chiefly on geometry. He was ordained a deacon in 1861, but his first sermon before the University did not occur until thirty-six years later, less than a year before his death. In 1868, when he was thirty-six, he moved into rooms in Tom Quad, this being his home for the rest of his life.¹

¹ As an undergraduate he had lived in Peckwater Quad, and then in the Chaplain's Quadrangle and in the Old Library, neither of the latter of which now exists.

When he was fifty years old, he was elected Curator of the Common Room: his function in that post was much like that of a club steward, and he took his duties seriously indeed. He had vacations at Whitby, on the seacoast east of Croft; in the Lakes district; at Sandown, on the Isle of Wight; and then fairly regularly at seaside Eastbourne, in Sussex. He made one Continental tour that included six weeks in Russia. He never married, and there is only the vaguest evidence of his ever having had anything approximating an adult love affair. He died in 1898, at his sisters' home in Guildford.

Dodgson lived his youth in a smug, tidy, and highly conventional world. The stupidities and scandals of the four Georges had faded into history, and the almost oppressive decency of Victoria was thoroughly established. Life—especially in a country parsonage—was simple but governed by precise rules. A typical Sunday of the period involved learning hymns and Scriptures by heart until 8 A.M., then family prayers and breakfast, Sunday School at nine, church, a cold dinner at one, Sunday School again from two to four, and evening service at six. It is small wonder that it was necessary to invent a dream-world for escape.

And yet it would be quite wrong to think of Dodgson's childhood as necessarily unhappy. His father was an able man—and even a witty one, just provided the subject was wholly secular, so that no irreverence was involved. As a child, Dodgson showed many of the characteristics and much of the talent of his adult life. He was forever concerned with amusing, fanciful, but essentially unimportant matters—marionette theaters, conjuring, games without end, poems and stories, martial trials with earthworms,

mazes in the snow, a miniature tool-box for his sister, home magazines written and illustrated and produced all by himself. It is prophetic and almost a little sad that, as a youngster, he reported that he was falling in love with the *looks* of logarithms. This list of activities, all relating to his childhood, is completely of a piece with his adult life.

In 1856, when he was twenty-four years old, he wrote several rather amateurish pieces (serious verse, humorous verse, and prose) for a typically Victorian "home magazine" called *The Train*. It was in connection with those pieces that, as his nephew Stuart Dodgson Collingwood put it, "he first felt the need of a pseudonym." He suggested four choices to Edmund Yates, the editor of the magazine, two of which (Edgar Cuthwellis and Edgar U. C. Westhall) were formed from the letters of his two Christian names. The other two (Louis Carroll and Lewis Carroll) were mildly concealed Latinized versions of his names (Lewis = Ludovicus = Lutwidge, and Carroll = Carolus = Charles).² Mr. Yates chose the last of the four, and Dodgson's second personality had a name.

The curious concern with which he invented his pseudonym was very characteristic. To some extent this was a game, similar to the anagrams and other word games he was so fond of. To some extent there appears here the rather fuddy-duddy classicism which came so clearly to the surface over twenty years later when, in *Euclid and His Modern Rivals*, he produced his argument in favor of a very slightly revised Euclid as compared with any "modern" substitute. What could hardly have been clear

² At the age of thirteen he wrote, in one of his schoolbooks, "Hic liber ad Carolum Ludrigum Dodsonum pertinet."

in 1856, however, is the fact that the invented creature Lewis Carroll was destined to become much better known, one almost says much more real, than the actual man Dodgson. The relationship between the two creatures—the shy real person who shunned most of adult society, and the irrepressibly gay imaginary person who was so devoted a companion of little girls—presented problems which neither of the two creatures was himself ever able to solve.

Most persons think of him only as the author of *Alice*. A few also remember the haunting madness of *The Hunting of the Snark* and perhaps *Sylvie and Bruno*, with its cloying sweetness, its pious morality, and its only occasional flashes of genius. But what actually is the full account?

The full account is as formidable as it is fantastic. Dodgson and his alter ego Carroll had a real passion for print, particularly if the subject was unimportant enough. In addition to the two *Alice* books there were six other books intended primarily for children. There were twenty-one books on mathematical subjects. It had better be admitted gracefully and at once that Dodgson was not a very good mathematician. He was chiefly concerned with defending Euclid from any sacrilegious attempt to question him or modernize him. He did some useful work in formal logic, but not at a profound level. But he was as good as you would expect when he concerned himself with tricky and witty mathematical puzzles.

There are in the Dodgson bibliography twenty-seven items which refer directly to *Alice*, and there are over thirty references to articles which he contributed to magazines. He turned out, in addition, nearly two hundred

little printed pamphlets, many of which consist of only a single sheet. Nearly sixty of these were devoted to topics in mathematics or logic; over thirty were concerned with games he invented, or with schemes for ciphering. Nearly fifty were related, in one way or another, to Christ Church—its little quarrels, its proposals for changes (which Dodgson regularly opposed), its regulations, and the minutiae of its everyday affairs. And over fifty were devoted to miscellaneous subjects—how not to take cold, how to score tennis tournaments, on secondhand books, proposals for a new dramatic institute and for a bowdlerized Shakespeare for young girls, how to play billiards on a circular table, ideas on vivisection and on secret elections, a charade, how to write and register correspondence, common errors in spelling, on the profits of authorship, an advertisement to sell a house, a questionnaire based on the rules for commissions chargeable on overdue postal orders, how to memorize dates, rules for reckoning postage, and many more.

The pamphlets on games are especially curious and characteristic. In one series he describes an unbelievably complicated variant of croquet, successive editions making it less and less likely that anyone would ever learn even the rules. He was fond of word games, and appears to have invented the game, which had a revival some twenty years ago, in which one changes a word into another of the same number of letters, changing only one letter at a time and in such a way that every intermediate step is also a known word. Needless to say, he evolved a very complicated method of scoring this game.

These pamphlets add enormously to the confusion and delight of collecting Dodgson. They were issued in small

numbers, and it is easy to believe that many landed rather promptly in the wastebasket. Almost all of them are rare, and some are excessively so. Several of the more ardent collectors possess two or three pamphlets which are unique copies; and these curious sheets furnish a splendid way of achieving a sense of acquisitive superiority, cheap even at two hundred dollars or more a sheet.

In appearance, Dodgson gave the illusion of being tall, for he was very thin—"the most terribly thin man I ever saw," one of his contemporaries said. At times he stood rather formally erect; but the caricature of him by his artist friend Harry Furniss, which doubtless reflected, even if it exaggerated, his ordinary posture, shows him as stooped.

In all his adult relations he was dreadfully shy—perhaps one should really say pathologically shy, for he had the awkward manners, the tendency to stammer, the perspiring palms, the essential left-handedness, which sometimes reflect serious maladjustment. And, like many shy persons, he was capable of being very abrupt and very rude. In fact, and in spite of his recognized humor, he was doubtless often viewed by adults as a rather unpleasant person and something of a bore. "Nobody," wrote Alice Liddell Hargreaves' son, "expected anything of this shy young man."

Prim and precise in his habits he was, even for those careful days. He abstracted and registered every item—nearly one hundred thousand in all—of his correspondence. He kept a record of all of his own entertaining, including the seating schemes and the menus. His rooms in Tom Quad were full of complicated devices to prevent drafts and to equalize the temperature. When he traveled, he

planned for every possible contingency, putting into one of the many compartments of his duplicate purses, in advance, exact amounts of change for any need that might arise.

Religion was for him, like his good father before him, a solemn affair. He asked all artists who were associated with his books that they make no sketches for him on Sundays; and he stalked coldly out of theaters at the slightest suggestion of the shady or the irreligious. One shudders to think how wide it would be necessary to make the aisles of our modern theaters if there were many like him now.

But with children, or to be more accurate, with little girls, all this was different. He made friends with them at once and in all places. He kept himself supplied with games and trinkets like safety pins, with drawings and toys, to captivate any small girl who chanced along.

All of this, of course, makes him an easy prey to the psychoanalysts and their disciples. There are those who note his adult prudery, his omnipresent gloves, his stammering, his disinterest in little boys, his old-maidish habits, his passion for fantasy, his love of all little girls, his obvious contempt for most adults—who note all of these and who draw conclusions which range from the bizarre to the plain nasty.

Indeed, it must be agreed that there were certain abnormalities in his character and behavior. After years of both suppression and denial, evidence is now available that he did make nude photographs of small girls, and that he presumably abandoned photography (one of his favorite hobbies) in 1880 because of protests from certain of the mothers of these youngsters.³

³ I have a collection of letters which the Reverend Mr. Dodgson

Although I do not approve of suppressing facts, I would urge that all this was probably as innocent in action and result as it may well have been tortured and abnormal at a subconscious level. The problem of the private life of the artist and the public value of his artistic product is one that, as far as I know, has never been solved and is unlikely ever to be solved. So with Alexander Woolcott I would earnestly implore the analysts to leave him alone. The attempts—and there have been many—to conclude that his fairy tales are full of hidden but intended meaning have been best answered by Dodgson himself when he said—about the Snark, but that is unimportant—“I’m afraid I didn’t mean anything but nonsense.”

Students of the psychiatric aspects of literature will, I am sure, have something much more detailed and more profound to say. But to me there is little mystery. Dodgson’s adult life symbolized—indeed, really caricatured—the restraints of Victorian society. But he was essentially a wild and free spirit, and he had to burst out of these bonds. The chief outlet available was fantasy—the fantasy which children accept with such simplicity, with such intelligence and charm.

wrote to a Mrs. Henderson who lived in Oxford, these letters dealing exclusively with the topic of his photography of her two daughters in what he referred to as “their favorite costume”—namely, none. In the next to the last letter of this series he assures Mrs. Henderson that he has put all the prints of these nude photographs “into an envelope which I have marked (as I have several packets of letters already marked) ‘to be burned unopened’—a direction which I can trust my Executor to carry out.” See also Derek Hudson’s biography, *Lewis Carroll* (London: Constable, 1954), pp. 267 ff.

The Book

III

How often, when men have set out for high adventure or for the discovery of strange new places, have their journeys been by water rather than by land! So it was with the great Phoenician explorers, with the Norsemen, with Balboa, Magellan, and Drake. Think, then, of that curious little group of aquatic voyagers who, in the lazy warmth of a July afternoon in 1862, rowed up a small tributary of the Thames known as the Isis. Two Oxford dons; three little girls, the daughters of the Christ Church Dean. They were an unimpressive crew; their craft was small and slow. But do not underrate the importance of what happened! For it was this tiny and gentle expedition which discovered Wonderland.

Many times before this particular July afternoon the Reverend Mr. Dodgson had taken Edith, Alice, and Lorina Liddell on rowing expeditions up the Isis. He had, many times before, told them tales. These earlier stories, as he himself later remarked, "had lived and died like summer midges, each in its own golden afternoon." But this afternoon was to be different. This afternoon the great tale-

tellers of all time, those long dead and those yet to come, were to be joined by one of the immortals.

In their small boat the Reverend Robinson Duckworth¹ rowed stroke, Dodgson bow, and Alice Liddell was coxswain. Even though the London *Times* for that day, July 4, 1862, recorded the typical English weather as "occasional rain, temperature 53°," it turned off so warm (at least by English standards) that the little expedition debarked and sought the shade of a hayrick. At once the children clamored for a story, and then the miracle began. Straight down the rabbit-hole went the most lovely, the most agreeable, the most confused, and the most appealing little girl that English literature has produced. Straight out of a mind prepared for thirty years for this moment came Alice and the fantastic, wishful, ludicrous, and nonsensical creatures that people her Wonderland. The story, as Dodgson said later, "*came of itself*. Sometimes an idea comes at night . . . sometimes when out on a lonely winter walk, but whenever or however it comes, *it comes of itself*."

The boating party did not return from this memorable expedition of discovery until nearly half-past eight. If that seems a little late for young ladies of six, eight, and ten years, remember that the Reverend Mr. Duckworth, a sober adult of thirty-two, was present in the role of chaperon to see that all the Victorian requirements were met. When they parted at the Deanery door that evening, it was Alice Liddell who said, "Oh, Mr. Dodgson, I wish you would write out Alice's adventures for me."

Canon Duckworth has recorded that Dodgson spent almost the whole of that night of July 4 "committing to a

¹ One of Dodgson's close friends at Oxford, he was a tutor of Trinity College, and afterward became Canon of Westminster.

ms. book his recollections of the drolleries which enlivened the afternoon." A list of dates for *Alice* in Dodgson's diary notes, "Headings written out (on my way to London) July 5, 1862." The chronicle of Wonderland had been begun.

There were to be four developments, over the succeeding period of three years and four months, before the book we all now know—*Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*—was available to the general public. There was first written an unillustrated manuscript copy of a preliminary short version with the title *Alice's Adventures under Ground*;² there was next produced by hand an illustrated copy of the same preliminary version; there was printed but not released for sale the true first, 1865, edition of the familiar longer version; and finally there was released to the trade the second, 1866, edition. What is the story of these four versions?

Carroll, although he made notes directly after the Isis expedition on July 4, 1862, did not start to write out the first manuscript version until November 13. In the meantime he had checked, with his characteristic concern for detail, the anatomy of the extinct Dodo, which was at least in part a caricature of himself. Once the writing had begun, he labored with the meticulous and unhurried care which reflected both his own nature and the pace of those nineteenth-century days. He had intended the manuscript story to be a Christmas present for the Liddell sisters; but he did not finish writing out the first form of the text until about February 10, 1863.

This first manuscript version was undoubtedly seen by

² When the short version was published, in 1886, the "u" in "under" was changed to a capital letter.

the Liddell children, but it may very well not have been formally given to them. Indeed, the fate of this first manuscript version is a mystery, and it has been almost completely overlooked in the glare of public interest which has focused on the second manuscript version.

For the interest and encouragement of friends³ who saw the first version led Carroll, presumably rather early in 1863, to undertake two tasks—first, to produce as a gift for Alice Liddell a carefully hand-printed copy of the original version, with illustrations drawn by himself; and second, to start a revised and enlarged text for formal publication.

As for the first of these tasks, he was frankly advised by friends that he did not have the necessary talent to attempt the illustrations. He nevertheless went ahead, finished his drawings on September 13, 1864, and sent the manuscript story to Alice Liddell on November 26, 1864.

It is this volume, all the handwork of Carroll himself, which has become especially famous. It is usually and inaccurately referred to as the manuscript of *Alice in Wonderland*. As we have seen, it was the second manuscript form of the original short version. This form of the story eventually received standard printed publication by Macmillan and Company in 1886, and a color reproduction of the manuscript copy presented to Alice Liddell was published by Panda Prints, Incorporated, of New York.⁴

The now-famous manuscript of *Alice's Adventures*

³ In *The Story of Lewis Carroll* (London: Methuen & Co., 1947), Roger Lancelyn Green says (p. 59), "And one day a writer friend of Dodgson, Henry Kingsley (whose more famous brother, Charles, was the author of *Westward Ho!* and *The Water Babies*) called on Dean Liddell and happened to pick up *Alice's Adventures Underground*. He liked it so much and thought it was so good and unusual, that he begged Alice and her mother to persuade Dodgson to have it published."

⁴ This is an exact reproduction of the manuscript, with the photo-

under Ground first appeared in "the rooms," as the British say, at Sotheby's on April 3, 1928, when it was sold for £15,400 to Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach. In October, 1928, it was resold to the late Eldridge R. Johnson, of Moorestown, New Jersey (with two copies of the '65 *Alice*⁵) for £30,000. After Mr. Johnson's death it was sold, on April 3, 1946, in the Parke-Bernet Galleries in New York, for \$50,000, again to Dr. Rosenbach. However, Dr. Luther H. Evans, the Librarian of Congress, had strongly felt that this manuscript was a British national treasure and that it ought to be returned to England. Dr. Rosenbach agreed to release the manuscript for the purchase price, and Dr. Evans raised the necessary \$50,000 from interested individuals. In November, 1948, Dr. Evans took the precious manuscript back to England and presented it to the British Museum. It was accepted by the Archbishop of Canterbury, who pointed out that the return of this treasure to England was "an unsullied and innocent act in a distracted and sinful world."

Various friends who saw the earliest manuscript version kept urging Dodgson to produce the story in a permanent and publicly available form. The suggestion that turned the trick was that the book be illustrated by Sir John Tenniel, the famous *Punch* cartoonist;⁶ for there seemed a really good chance that if so popular an artist made the pictures, enough copies might sell to pay the publishing

graph of *Alice* on page 90, whereas the 1886 printed version does not include this photograph.

⁵ These were the presentation copy to Mrs. G. Lillie Craik, and the superb (rebound) uncut Carroll-Tenniel copy, which contains ten of Tenniel's original pencil drawings of illustrations.

⁶ I have in my collection the inscribed copies of the 1866 Macmillan *Alice* and the 1872 *Looking-Glass* which Carroll gave to Tom Taylor, the man who introduced him to Tenniel.

costs. This point concerned the author rather than the publisher, for it was Dodgson's custom to publish at his own expense and risk.

Thus during the two-year period following the completion of the first manuscript version, Carroll was also working at the task of rewriting and expanding the original form of the story for illustration by Tenniel and publication by Macmillan. Less than a month after giving Alice Liddell the hand-printed, second manuscript version, he sent to Macmillan the first complete set of galleys of the expanded version—the volume which is very frequently referred to as *Alice in Wonderland*, but whose full title was, of course, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*.

Critics have sometimes minimized the distinction between the original manuscript story and the first printed edition. In the sense that the basic inspiration is all evident in the original, their judgment is justified. But the manuscript form had only four chapters and some eighteen thousand words; the printed form, twelve chapters and about thirty-five thousand words. In rewriting for publication, Carroll added two completely new chapters—"Pig and Pepper" and "A Mad Tea-Party." The wording of the Mouse's tale was wholly changed, the Caucus-Race appeared for the first time, and three poems were added—"Speak Roughly to Your Little Boy," "Will You Walk a Little Faster," and "'Tis the Voice of the Lobster." The colorless and unimportant Marchioness disappeared, and the Ugly Duchess, that paragon of homeliness and superb mistress of verbal and physical invective, appeared in her place. >

On May 13, 1864, the Clarendon Press in Oxford, which did the actual printing of the first edition, gave Dodgson

a specimen page, price two shillings. By the end of June, 1865, the entire edition of two thousand sets of sheets had left the press. Dodgson gave away fifty, or slightly fewer than fifty, copies which he had ordered bound for himself; and it is just barely possible that a few of these copies had been sold, rather than given away.⁷ But, less than two months later, on August 2, he decided that the whole edition must be recalled!

For a long time there was some mystery, and considerable debate, about this refusal to proceed with the original printing. Since Dodgson is known to have been exceedingly fussy about details, it was not unnatural to suppose that the strange decision was based on his own ideas.

It is, however, now quite clear that Dodgson issued the cancellation order reluctantly, and at Tenniel's insistence, the latter not being satisfied with the reproduction of his drawings and, indeed, objecting to the entire printing of the volume, text and all. This whole story has been told

⁷ Stuart Dodgson Collingwood, in his *Life and Letters of Lewis Carroll* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1898) stated (p. 104) that "all purchasers were accordingly asked to return their copies, and to send their names and addresses." Indeed, there have been references to a "Circular about returning copies of 'Alice.'" But no copies of such a circular have ever been described. It seems highly likely that there were no "purchasers" of the 1865. This small point has been much discussed, for some hold that a book has never been "published" in a strict sense unless it has been on sale to the public. This view might label the 1865 *Alice* as a "Suppressed Edition," rather than as the "First Edition." However, the present consensus of experts recognizes the 1865 as the true first edition. Indeed, without this agreement it would be difficult to know what to call the Appleton 1866 edition, which was of course sold in the normal manner, and which is thus the second issue of the first edition.

authoritatively and in detail in an article by W. H. Bond.⁸

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It is now agreed that the layout and presswork on the original 1865 edition were poor, and the book was "set up from a foul case containing a mixture of normal and condensed (i.e., narrow) forms of certain characters."⁹ As to the pictures, they do differ slightly in the two editions (that is, the original 1865 and the reprinted 1866), the later edition being somewhat more lightly, and certainly more carefully, printed. On the whole, the reprinting resulted in an improvement. I have compared the illustrations in my own copies of the 1865 Macmillan, the 1866 Macmillan, and the 1866 Appleton with the 1865 sheets, and I have scored nine as lighter in the earlier edition, nine heavier, and twenty-four the same. There does seem to be a little more delicacy and detail in the 1866 printing, but the difference is certainly not great.

Dodgson had worried about the risking of some £385 which the two thousand copies of the 1865 edition cost him. The Clarendon Press stood £27/1 of the loss when the edition was recalled, writing this off on January 4, 1867; the date reminding us that in those good days there was no need to declare losses before January 1 in order to get credit on the year's income tax. The records of the Clarendon Press indicate that Dodgson paid them the rest of the bill. But it may not be true that he did stand the remaining loss, for there is one asset unaccounted for.

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For what became of the approximately 1,950 unbound sets of sheets of the 1865 printing? The answer to this is well known. When Dodgson originally decided, on August

⁸ "The Publication of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*," *Harvard Library Bulletin*, Vol. X, No. 3 (Autumn 1956), pp. 306-24.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 315.

2, 1865, to have the book reprinted, it was his idea then, as recorded in his diary, that “the first 2000 shall be sold as waste paper.” But he later changed his mind on this point, and the unbound sheets were presently sold to D. Appleton and Company, of New York. The Clarendon Press printed new title pages on which the Macmillan imprint was replaced by the D. Appleton and Company imprint, the date was changed to 1866, and the phrase “the right of translation is reserved” was removed.

It may seem strange that so sensitive and meticulous a person as the Reverend Mr. Dodgson would have agreed to the sending to the United States of what he considered to be poorly printed material. But as was pointed out by Charles Morgan in the official history of the first hundred years of the Macmillan publishing firm, “the correspondence is full of evidence that supplies which did not come up to his standard were considered by him quite good enough for Americans, of whose taste his opinion was low. This opinion was confirmed in 1888. The coloured pictures in the first printing of the *Nursery Alice* were condemned by him as too gaudy. No copy, he said, was to be sold in England; all were to be offered to America. They were offered, and declined as not being gaudy enough.”¹⁰

It has for some time been thought that the Clarendon Press originally printed one thousand titles for the Appleton *Alice*, and subsequently reset type for an additional order of nearly one thousand more when Appleton had disposed of the first thousand copies. For there undoubtedly are two forms of the Appleton 1866 title page, with small differences in the spacing of the type.

¹⁰ Charles Morgan, *The House of Macmillan: 1843–1943* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1943), p. 80.

Mr. Flodden W. Heron, in an article, "The 1866 Appleton *Alice*,"¹¹ is chiefly responsible for the theory that these variant Appleton title pages were printed at two different times, so that one of them established a thousand copies as being the first Appleton issue, and the remaining copies as the second Appleton issue.

Dr. Bond, however, in the more recent article referred to just above, argues very plausibly "that the Oxford University Press set up the cancel page in duplicate, just as it had previously set up the two-leaf preliminary gathering. 1,000 impressions (wrongly recorded in the ledger as 1,000 copies) of this combined forme would supply titles for the whole edition. There is probably no question of precedence between the two variants."¹²

In support of this statement, Dr. Bond points out that the two Appleton title pages are closer to each other than either is to the 1865 title page, that there is no entry in the Clarendon Press ledger of a second printing of nine hundred or more additional titles, and that the printing of the cancel page in duplicate was consistent with the practice of the Press. All Appleton 1866 copies, moreover, appear to be bound in the same cloth and by the same binder in England.

It would be very satisfying to settle this matter of the two Appleton title pages, one way or the other, by reference to the records of D. Appleton and Company. But authentic knowledge of the Appleton transaction with the Clarendon Press and with Dodgson himself is excluded by the fact, reported to me by the treasurer of the successor corporation, that a fire, forty years ago, destroyed all the relevant records.

¹¹ *Colophon*, N.S. I (1936), 422-47.

¹² "The Publication of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*," p. 324.

Therefore it remains debatable whether or not there is any precedence between the two Appleton variants. The partial evidence that is accessible seems to me to favor the conclusion of Dr. Bond.

The 1866 Appleton copies are rare, but not exceptionally valuable. The owner of one of these Appleton copies has, except for the critically important matter of the title page, a copy of *Alice* just as it left the Clarendon presses in the late spring of 1865. But this title page is a rather critically important sheet of paper, since it makes the difference between, say, \$500 and \$7,000 to \$17,000.

The fact that the Clarendon Press charged the one thousand Appleton title pages to Dodgson indicates that he also received from D. Appleton and Company whatever was paid for the 1,900-odd sets of sheets which they bought. But again, it is not possible, lacking the knowledge of that sum because of destruction of the records, to know what Dodgson really lost on the canceled first edition.

The second, or 1866, edition of *Alice* was prepared very promptly. Although Dodgson at first planned to have all the pictures redrawn and re-engraved, he thought better of that. Actually, the same wood-blocks were used in making the electrotypes for the second, or Macmillan 1866, edition, although there were very minor (subtractive) changes made in a few of the blocks and in a few of the electrotypes made from unaltered blocks. There were many minor changes in the paging, chiefly to avoid "widows," or the starting of pages with less than a full line of type.

A copy of the second edition went to the British Museum on November 14, 1865. It was advertised in the November 4 issue of *The Athenaeum*, in time for the

Christmas trade. In the December 16, 1865, issue of *The Athenaeum* occurs the first review of *Alice*—certainly a notable example of the insight which critics seem so often to show. Here is the review in full:

This is a dream-story; but who can, in cold blood, manufacture a dream, with all its loops and ties, and loose threads, and entanglements, and inconsistencies, and passages which lead to nothing, at the end of which Sleep's most diligent pilgrim never arrives? Mr. Carroll has laboured hard to heap together strange adventures, and heterogeneous combinations; and we acknowledge the hard labour. Mr. Tenniel, again, is square, and grim, and uncouth in his illustrations, howbeit clever, even sometimes to the verge of grandeur, as is the artist's habit. We fancy that any real child might be more puzzled than enchanted by this stiff, over-wrought story.

Dodgson's worry as to whether he could ever hope to recover his first investment was soon dispelled. One edition after another was sold out. By 1870 twenty thousand copies had left the press. Two years later this number had nearly doubled. By 1884 it had reached its hundredth thousand. When the copyright ran out in 1907, the flood broke loose. There have been miniature editions, large editions, nursery editions, de luxe editions, comic-strip editions, and dime-store editions. The story has been made into play after play, and been broadcast several times over the radio and television; movies have been made (two more have recently been produced); it has given birth to song after song. There have been dozens and dozens of parodies, games and cutouts, crossword puzzles, and jig-

saw puzzles. *Alice* has become a regular and an inescapable part of our everyday lives.

I think we ought not to try to explain Alice; we should just be thankful that we have her. Innocence, a tiny but truly patrician courage, a steady determination to get things straight, a movingly sympathetic attitude toward all around her, a demure decency that is as appealing as it is rare—all these belong to Alice. And all these are set for us in a matrix of most deliciously irresponsible humor—a humor that is made all the more enjoyable by the fact that simple Alice, sweet Alice, enchanting Alice, herself never quite catches on.

She belonged to an age that now seems as remote as her own Wonderland. But there are some of us—many of us—for whom frequent revisits to that Wonderland form a pleasure we will never give up. There we recapture some of the far-off flavor of our own childhood. There we hear again, if only for a poignant moment, the fugitive overtones of the clear, high, innocent voices of that magic land where we, too, once lived.

The Early Translations

IV

In the spring of 1865, as we have seen in Chapter III, the true first edition of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* was printed. I am of course speaking here of the English edition, for before we can begin to speak of translations, we must have something to translate.

On July 15 of that year the Reverend Charles Lutwidge Dodgson, to use his legal name, stopped at Macmillan's, his publisher, and inscribed twenty or more copies. It is hard to imagine with what shock this shy Oxford don would have received the news—not to become real news until nearly a century later—that each of these volumes bearing his signature would eventually be worth several thousand pounds.

Although the initial reaction to the book was not particularly favorable, the critics proved as wrong as critics often are. *Alice* sold very well indeed, and within less than a year Macmillan was preparing another edition.

So enthusiastic was the reception of *Alice*, in fact, that it is not surprising that the idea of translating *Alice* arose

rather promptly.¹ On August 24, 1866, Dodgson² wrote from Croft Rectory, Darlington, to Frederick Macmillan: "I should be glad to know what you think of my idea of putting it into French, or German, or both, and trying for a Continental sale.³ I believe I could get either version well done in Oxford."

Macmillan's approved the idea; and Dodgson wrote on August 30: "When I go back to Oxford I will consult my French and German friends as to translation."

¹ Mr. William H. McCarthy, the curator of the Rosenbach Museum in Philadelphia, has most generously allowed me to examine and quote from the Museum's uniquely important and extensive collection of the original letters from Dodgson to his publishers, and the typescripts of the replies from various members of the Macmillan firm. I have quoted from the various letters only the portions which refer to translations. The Macmillan firm then had offices at 29 Bedford Street, Covent Garden, London. Mr. Frederick Macmillan and Mr. Alexander Macmillan wrote most of the firm's letters to Dodgson, certain letters dealing with business details being written by George Lillie Craik. The latter's handwriting was so bad that only parts of his letters have as yet been deciphered. By 1878 correspondence begins to appear from George A. Macmillan, a son of one of the senior members. Dodgson almost always addressed his correspondence "Dear Mr. Macmillan"; and since the envelopes are not preserved, it is seldom clear whether this was Mr. Frederick or Mr. Alexander. A few of the later letters are specifically directed to "Dear George Macmillan." The Dodgson letters were written from Christ Church, Oxford, except for a few as noted.

² The letters are, of course, all signed with the name Dodgson. One of the letters asks the Macmillan firm to deal with a bookseller on a matter of putting certain material for sale, stating that the material in question "is a Lewis Carroll item" and that he could therefore and of course not enter directly into the transaction.

³ The Reverend Mr. Dodgson was, to put it mildly, interested in financial matters. His correspondence with his publishers and with his illustrators is full of petty details about costs, and he was uniformly and meticulously concerned with driving a shrewd bargain.

On October 24, 1866, however, he reported (now from Christ Church, Oxford) to Macmillan: "Friends here seem to think that the book is *untranslatable* into either French or German, the puns and songs being the chief obstacles. If any of your foreign friends ever express a more favorable opinion, I would like to know of it."

Several months later, on March 19, 1867, Dodgson was more encouraged. He wrote Frederick Macmillan:

I am strongly advised to try a translation of "Alice" into *French*, on the ground that French children are not nearly so well off for well illustrated books as English or German. The great difficulty is to find a man fit to try it, or at any rate to give an opinion as to whether it is possible. . . . One would wish of course to find someone who had written something of the sort, so as to have some sort of sympathy with the style: if possible, someone who writes verses. The verses would be the great difficulty, as I fear, if the originals are not known in France, the parodies would be unintelligible. In that case they had better perhaps be omitted.

Two days later (March 21, 1867) he wrote again:

When I wrote to you the other day about getting "Alice" put into French I did not mention German, because my friend Mr. Bertram, the teacher of German here, was then engaged in examining the book, in order to give an opinion on whether it would go well into German or not.

He has come to the conclusion that it *will*—even the puns: some of them he has himself rendered into German, and his versions could of course be furnished to anyone undertaking the task.

Will you try, through German booksellers, or by any other way you know of, to find a German writer who could and would do it?

Our postal authorities and business firms should note that the preceding letter, written at Oxford, was answered just one day later from London. Alexander Macmillan was alarmed at the prospect of inviting potential translators, estimating that at the “dimmiest hint” of such a possibility, the Macmillan offices “would be overflowed.” Macmillan doubted the possibility of getting any translation “that would approach a reality. The humor is so very special.”

Less than a month later, on April 17, 1867, Dodgson had himself succeeded in locating what he considered to be a suitable translator for one of the two languages. He wrote:

I have got hold of a capital *French* translator (I believe) for “Alice.” The *prose* he seems to be doing admirably—the verse I cannot judge of well. If you know anyone capable of criticizing French verse, I will send you specimens.

He is the son of M. Jules Bué, our teacher in French here. In fact father and son are both working at it.

You may as well be making ready for printing it in French, as I shall very soon be able to send you the first half.

This letter went on with some characteristically fussy details about the size of the paper for the printed copies of the translations, and expressed the plaintive hope, doubtless reflecting his recent experience with the 1865 *Alice*, that in the translations the pictures could be “a *little* better worked.” The letter proceeded: “I don’t think

I have told you of an application I have had from a German lady, who wants to translate 'Alice.' I have asked her to do pages 36 and 183⁴ as specimens." The letter concluded with a query as to a suitable fee for the translator. Macmillan replied (again just one day later!) that £12 or £16 would be sufficient.

The next day, April 19, 1867, Dodgson wrote Macmillan again, inquiring if the firm could not handle all the details with foreign booksellers, and stating that the translation fee was so moderate that he would, at least for the present, let both the French and the German translations proceed.

Less than two months thereafter, on June 10, 1867, Dodgson wrote his publishers:

I am sending you by tonight's post the French version of "Alice." There are so many things in it (verses, puns, etc.) on which I should like to collect opinions and suggestions from friends that I think the best thing will be to have the *whole* set up in slip,⁵ and to send me 20 copies. These I will distribute among friends, and after considering and embodying suggestions, I will return it to you to be arranged in pages with the pictures.

The very next day Macmillan's reported that they had sent the French version to the printer, so that the Reverend Mr. Dodgson should have the twenty proofs "in a short time."

⁴ Page 36 is a comparatively dull page in the chapter on the Caucus-Race, just preceding the Mouse's tale. Page 183 represented more of a problem, since it contains four stanzas of the White Rabbit's nonsense verses which begin, "They told me you had been to her."

⁵ That is, in galley proof.

Concerned, as always, with details, Dodgson wrote two days later, on June 13, 1867:

To prevent the possibility of mistake as to the French version of Alice, I may as well say that I should like *no* change to be made in type anywhere—let the two versions match as exactly as possible. The mouse's tale had better be set up in an upright column to begin with, it is not worth while to take the trouble of zigzagging it, till the words are definitely decided on.

Would it be worth while to have a second set of electro-types done for the German printer?

On June 24, Macmillan was instructed: "When the 20 copies in French are struck off, please send me four only, and the others to the addresses I will send you."

It seems probable that, over the succeeding month or so, Macmillan tried to get Dodgson to permit the printing of the French version.⁶ For on August 18, 1867, Dodgson wrote from Moscow:⁷

⁶ Mr. McCarthy informs me that it has been impossible (even though the Rosenbach Museum financed a special search of the old files) to locate a good many of the letters from Macmillan to Dodgson.

⁷ The Reverend Mr. Dodgson left London on July 12, 1867, for a tour which included Brussels, Cologne, Berlin, Königsberg, St. Petersburg, Moscow (from August 2 until August 26), Warsaw, Breslau, Giessen, and Paris. The manuscript diary of this *Tour in 1867* is part of the Parrish Collection at Princeton University; and it was published by Mr. Parrish in 1928 in a private edition of 66 copies. August 18, 1867, was a Sunday, and Dodgson attended divine services at the Church of the Assumption and later at the English church. He probably wrote this letter in the afternoon, for he also attended evening service on that day.

It is quite impossible to print off the French "Alice" at present. In fact, there is not much use in making it up in pages, as it will probably undergo some alteration. I should be glad if you would send proof of the French, in slips, as follows:

Three copies to
Miss M. B. Smedley
Croft Terrace

S. Wales

One copy to Mr. Capes (?), Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford. You had better get initials from the calendar.

Three copies to myself, addressed Ch. Ch. Oxford where I hope to be in three or four weeks.

Mr. George Lillie Craik of the Macmillan firm wrote Dodgson on August 22, 1867, ". . . and you will remember that the French proofs are here, but until we receive your sanction, I do not understand that they go to press."

There then occurred a lull in the comments from Dodgson—or a gap in the preserved record—for the next entry surprisingly indicates that the German translation, not mentioned for nearly six months in the still-existing correspondence, is well along. Mr. Craik wrote on October 8, 1867, asking how many copies of the German edition the Reverend Mr. Dodgson wished printed.

Dodgson's response was immediate (October 9, the next day): "I have not yet even seen any of the German of 'Alice.' When you can send me half a dozen proofs of it (or so much of it as the printer can manage at once) I want to submit it to various friends for suggestions, corrections,

etc., and the verses specially will very likely have to be re-written altogether. So that there is plenty of time to consider how many copies we should have printed."

Another gap of three months then occurred, Alexander Macmillan writing on January 17, 1868, to ask, "What about the French book? Are you not satisfied with what has been done?"

In a letter on January 24, 1868, chiefly concerned with other matters, Dodgson wrote, "Also, what are you doing about German type? I will gladly pay (if necessary) for the hire of some more type, so as to be able to submit the book to the criticisms of my friends as a whole, rather than have it printed off piecemeal."

Again on January 28, 1868: "By all means print in Germany, if you can *secure* it being done on good paper. I have a horror of the flimsy paper of foreign books."

On February 14, 1868, Alexander Macmillan, in a postscript to a letter, added, "Am I to give orders for the prints of your German translation in Germany?"

Dodgson replied, on February 16, 1868: "By all means have 'Alice' printed in Germany. I thought I had said that before. I received yesterday from you a proof of the first sheet in German, with various manuscript corrections in the margin. What is it for? Ought it not to go to the printer?"

Two days later, on February 18, 1868, Alexander Macmillan, in a postscript to a letter on other matters, requested: "Please send me back the proof of the German translation. I will send what you have done to the German printer."

On March 8, 1868, Dodgson wrote Macmillan: "I forget if I suggested that the German Alice should be set up in slips, as there will be probably alterations and omissions,

it would be only causing extra trouble to put it into pages now."

Impatient with delays, he wrote on June 7, 1868: "How is the German edition getting on? They seem to be but leisurely printers."

But finally, ten days later, on June 17, 1868, he could report to Macmillan:

I have just received a proof (two proofs, I should say) of "Alice" in German, with the manuscript (which by the way, should have been sent, with a proof to Miss Zimmermann—not to me—but I will forward it). I have only one objection to make of it—but it is a radical one: each page is a line too short, and one-half inch too narrow. This of course, throws most of the pictures out of proportion.

There is a second proof included, of the proper size, but this only goes to the 16th page.

I think I had better wait till the whole has been set in that size, before forwarding it for corrections to Miss Zimmermann.

The book in the smaller size looks very mean. I had rather not bring it out at all in German than do so in a way that will not do justice to the pictures.

By the way, will they be able to print the pictures properly in Germany? The proofs sent are very hideous.

On June 19, 1868, George Lillie Craik wrote: "I have written to the German printer reminding him that our instructions were that the pages of the German and English 'Alice' were to be as nearly possible *facsimiles* in style. . . . I have no doubt it will be all right."

Still watching every detail, Dodgson wrote on July 3,

1868 (from Darlington): "I forgot to say, with regard to the German Alice, that they need not trouble themselves to get into each page the *same* matter as is in the corresponding page in the English. Let them run it on as they like, so long as they place the pictures as near as possible to the text to which they refer."

And on July 25, 1868 (from Darlington): "I have just received a batch of the German 'Alice' all printed on too small a page, i.e., a line short and one-quarter inch too narrow. I wait to receive it right before forwarding any to the translator for correction—I decidedly object to paying the German printer for the extra work caused by his mistake."

Although the German version was moving along with reasonable speed, Macmillan continued to be disturbed at the delay in the French version. Mr. Craik wrote Dodgson on August 26, 1868: "Messrs Clay remind me that the French 'Alice' has been in type for nearly a year. Could you do nothing to expedite matters and let them get the use of their type?"

Dodgson was not to be hurried. He replied to Mr. Craik on August 27, 1868: "The French 'Alice' must wait.—and even when printed, I don't want the type broken up at all. If it is normal to make an annual charge for keeping type standing, I will of course pay it."

On August 31, 1868, Mr. Craik wrote: "We had no proofs, so I had to write to Leipzig for the German copies you wished."

On October 22, 1868, Dodgson wrote to Frederick Macmillan:

I have sent the German Alice to Miss Zimmermann,

asking her to forward it to you, and today if she wishes to see another proof. I think there will be no name to alter other than the name of the Lizard which I wanted changed from "Bill" to some German name. It occurs 20 or 30 times in the book, but I think the printer might be trusted to attend to the corrections, without another proof being sent. If Miss Zimmermann is satisfied, will you order the printing off? I think 500 will be a safe number, but if you decidedly advise 1000 I won't object. I trust to you to secure that the pictures are done justice to, and that the paper is really good: they seem to me always to print foreign books on blotting paper—perhaps you had better send out paper.

At all events, I had rather they were *bound* in England. All foreign books I have ever seen come to pieces directly.

P.S.—Of course, tell them *not* to break up the type.

And in a second letter, also written on October 22, 1868, Dodgson criticized a number of "mistakes in arrangement" in the German *Alice*—the width of the margins, the folding of the pages containing "Contents," the unsuitability of a single leaf with which to end the book, several minor misprints, etc.

On January 5, 1869, Mr. Craik wrote the Reverend Mr. Dodgson: "We have only one copy of the German *Alice* here . . . will write Germany for fifty copies. You shall have ten whenever they come to hand. I will also arrange to have the two morocco copies as soon as possible."

On January 21, 1869, after complaining about the price

set for *Phantasmagoria*, Dodgson went on: "But I write to secure the German 'Alice' not being charged more than I should like—as I suppose you have not yet got it ready for sale. Pray do not put it at more than 6^s in England, or 2 thaler in Germany: perhaps even that will be too dear."

The next day, January 22, 1869, Alexander Macmillan replied: "We'll take care about Alice and German. We're expecting to hear every day."

In a postscript to a letter on January 24, 1869, Dodgson said: "I am told that 2 thalers would be a very high price for a book in Germany: could we afford to sell it for less out there?"

On January 26, 1869, Alexander Macmillan wrote: "I am in a daily fever about the German Alice. But I hope for a final answer in a day or two—and your copies. I think it probable that the German publisher may choose his own cloth—or paper. Would you object to that? Of course if you choose we can arrange that it shall be sold only in cloth—and our own."

On February 15, 1869, Dodgson wrote a most appealing letter proposing a cheaper edition of *Alice* "in view of the coming Easter season." Even though this less expensive edition were sold at a loss, Dodgson recommended the reduction of the price of the book, in order that it be brought within "the reach of many thousands of children of the middle classes, who might, I think, enjoy it." At the end of this letter Dodgson said: "Have not the German Alices come yet? I think I asked you to send me ten as soon as you could: and I would suggest your sending for more than 50 and advertising it. I rather think it will sell in England."

Alexander Macmillan replied the next day: "The first

50 German Alices are at the binder's hands, and 200 more are ordered from the Continent."

On March 4, 1869, Alexander Macmillan reported: "The German Alice will be advertised in this week's papers."

On March 17, 1869, Alexander Macmillan was finally able to say:

The two German Alices came this morning, and are going to you by rail tonight.

The paper was made in Germany and was their closest reproducement of the English. The Germans clearly don't approve of people writing on books. They won't use size for printing paper. . . .

We have concluded a bargain for the German Alice in Germany, whereby as far as I can make out you will make about £17 or £18 on the first 1000, which was all the publisher would venture on. But he hopes to want another 1000 about Christmas, and the printer agrees to keep the type standing. The publisher's name is Hartknoch, Leipzig.

Apparently Dodgson complained, in a letter which has been lost. For Macmillan wrote on March 19, 1869: "I know you wanted a good paper as like the English as possible. This we took pains to secure. When a reprint is required you shall have English paper. But I have been comparing the two, and there is very little difference to my eye. The Germans never size—or do it only slightly—their printing papers."

On April 13, 1869, another Macmillan employee (N. Y. Sandifer, or a similar name) wrote: "Your instructions for binding a copy of the German Alice for the Princess have been mislaid. Will you kindly forward them again. Also

inform us which Princess it is for, that we may forward it as soon as it is ready.”

On May 4, 1869, the French *Alice* reappears on the scene. Dodgson wrote Mr. Macmillan:

We have at last got the French “Alice” correct, and the whole (except the title-page sheet) may now go to press. I write this to you, rather than to Clay, as I suppose you will have to tell him the number to be done, etc. I should be inclined myself to say 2000, but you will know best.

The title page I don’t quite like the look of yet, and send you three kinds to look at and decide on. In No. 1, I thought it looked too crowded above, and that the “AU” in the title was too small, so I tried an improvement in No. 2. In No. 3 you see they have altered the spacing, but not made the “AU” any larger. However, I now leave the decision to you: the oftener I look at it, the less able I feel to decide whether it looks right or not.⁸

Of course you will have the paper the same as the English. . . .

I never see any advertisements of the German “Alice.” Do you ever advertise it? I see you don’t even include it, or “Phantasina” [*sic*] in the list of your books in your own magazine. Perhaps you consider the latter as hopeless, but the former would, in my opinion, get a respectable sale in England, if it were only made known.

⁸ On the title page of the French translation the title reads: AVENTURES D’ALICE | AU PAYS DES MERVEILLES. The letters of the second line are in a smaller size than those of the first; the “AU” is set in the same size as the rest of the line.

On August 10, 1869, in a letter almost undecipherable, Mr. Craik remarked that they had no copies of the German *Alice* at Leipzig—and that the edition was almost exhausted. The remainder of the letter apparently was an inquiry about reprinting.

On December 4, 1869, Alexander Macmillan reported: "Of course the French and German move slowly—but they do a little."

On December 18, 1869, Macmillan furnished further news about the sale of the French edition: "Hachette's undertook to sell the French *Alice* in Paris. They have had them some three or four months, but we have had no report, nor would we naturally have one until January. I have however asked their agent here to put the question. . . ."

There must have been some correspondence, at this time, about the Italian version, for Alexander Macmillan wrote on April 14, 1870: "The printer would have no difficulty with Italian, I think, if the translator were up to his work of reading the proofs carefully. Has the translator found a publisher?"

Dodgson replied the next day: "I will ask my Italian friend (Signor T. Pietrocola Rossetti) if he can give any advice about a publisher. . . . But can't you manage that part of the business? Is there no great publisher at Rome you could apply to?"

On May 10, 1870, Alexander Macmillan suggested: ". . . from all I can learn, Loescher is the man who could do you most justice. I am writing to him, and will let you know the result."

On the next day, Alexander Macmillan wrote again: ". . . We have written a long letter to Loescher, and will get a clear idea from him of the whole case. What he

thinks of the prospect of sales, the sum per copy at which he would be content to work, leaving him a fair profit and at the same time enable him to charge a reasonable price to the Italian public.”

On December 22, 1870, Dodgson wrote from Christ Church (on the twenty-fourth, he went to The Chestnuts, at Guildford): “Have you had any negotiations for publishing the Italian Alice?”

And on February 1, 1871, back at Oxford, he wrote: “I hope you are making all arrangements for publishing the Italian Alice.”

On February 3, 1871, Dodgson came up with an idea which, over a half-century later, was adopted by the Japanese and by other foreign-language editions. He wrote:

In connection with the fact that French and German Alices are occasionally used as lesson-books, and with the fact that my French translator complained of the difficulty of the task, owing to Alice being so very “idiomatic,” an idea has occurred to me—(small and cheap, and without pictures) “Selections” from the book, with the French in a parallel column, for the use of those who wish to learn French for *conversational* purposes for which it is a great help to know the equivalent from English idioms that will keep occurring to the mind. And the same thing might be done with the German. Of course, I should select only those portions that would go *well* into the other language, omitting all poetry and puns. My idea would be to have it a shilling book, as well got up as can be fairly done for the money, and attractive looking (perhaps in the same red cover as Alice).

Not small type, or in any way looking like a common lesson-book. And with gilt edges.

That is my idea. Please think it over and give me your opinion. If you approve, send me an English and a French Alice, in sheets, and M. Bué and I will select a portion to be set up as an experiment.

On March 31, 1871, occurs a Dodgson letter of special interest: "Unless it should happen that I have already given the order, will you please send a French and a German 'Alice' to Miss Timiriasef—care of Rev. H. S. Thompson, English Church, St. Petersburg. She is the lady who, I believe, is going to translate 'Alice' into Russian."⁹

In a letter on April 26, 1871, Dodgson mentions that Macmillan had, by then, sold twenty-two copies of the French version in the United States.

On June 22, 1871, Craik wrote in part:

We have sold out the German edition of Alice, but the sale here is so small that we thought it advisable to inquire if the house to which we sold the edition in Germany had copies and were willing to sell us some.

The answer is that the book has been successful, and that they are about to [undecipherable] . . . 400 . . . but they will let us have them for £25. We think this sufficient for the English demand.

In a letter from Alexander Macmillan on January 1, 1872: "Has the Dean of Rochester told you that he has the original of your Jabberwock in a Bürgerish German Song? He sends me a copy. Here is the first verse: 'Es brillig war. Die schlichte' [remainder undecipherable]."

⁹ See the Russian editions in the checklist in the Appendix, and the comments about Russian editions in the following chapter.

On the same topic, on January 4, 1872, from Alexander Macmillan: "I enclose the German Ballad copied from the Dean of Rochester to me. It seems to me excellent, and if a translation of this book into German ever were done it would be well to secure the Ballad-maker."¹⁰

On January 27, 1872, Craik wrote, the preceding part being undecipherable, ". . . and the Italian Alice. The last we are promised on the 15th of February. After that it has to be bound and I think by the 27th we should have copies ready."

On February 15, 1872, from Alexander Macmillan: "We are printing the Italian Alice, but we are printing 1000 copies. It seems hardly worth setting up type for less, but I suppose that if it sells at all in Italy it should sell nearly as many as that, and perhaps as in the case of the French a few may be sold at home. It will not be ready for about a fortnight. We will do it in Mauve if you wish it, but it is not a good color for wear. What do you say to Orange?"

On May 4, 1872, from Alexander Macmillan: "Unless we do some Alice up in paper I fear the Italian translation will not have a sale quick enough to make the need for bringing out more in the *grained* orange on early account. Would you like six or eight done so?"

On June 13, 1872, from Craik: "By arrangement we have sent out 300 of the Italian Alice to Loescher of Turin on sale. They will account for their sales once a year. It would have been more satisfactory if we could have sold an edition outright, but we tried to do so in vain."

¹⁰ The "Ballad-maker" was the Dean of Rochester himself; and the whole "Jammerwoch" was a hoax (see page 71).

On June 25, 1872, Craik wrote: “. . . You shall have the six copies of the Italian ‘Alice’ in the course of the week.”

From Alexander Macmillan on January 2, 1873: “. . . the French and Italian for Mr. Dodgson of Ludlow were sent on the 28th. We had no rough cloth copies of either, and so sent smooth ones.”

From Alexander Macmillan on July 24, 1873: “. . . I understood that Mr. Emile Geron wanted to translate your Alice into Swedish. We wrote him the letter of which the enclosed is a copy on February 15. I should fancy that he has abandoned the project, as we have never heard from him since.”¹¹

On November 10, 1876, and apparently in answer to an inquiry from Dodgson about further translated versions, Craik wrote that he was very dubious of “making money out of such translations anywhere.”

On November 22, 1876, Dodgson, who also seems to have been discouraged by the foreign sales, wrote: “Please make a memorandum *not* to advertise the French, German, and Italian Alices any longer—the sale does not pay for the advertising. You will say perhaps that without advertising there will be no sale. My answer is ‘I greatly prefer no sale at all to selling at an annual loss. In money matters, zero is preferable to a negative quantity.’”

On March 12, 1878, George A. Macmillan (a son who was now working for the firm) asked: “An oriental person writes to Professor Palmer of Cambridge . . . to propose translating some of your Alice songs into Arabic. . . . Please let me know what we shall say.”

¹¹ But a Swedish translation was published in Stockholm, in 1870! See the following chapter and the checklist in the Appendix.

On March 21, 1878, Dodgson answered:¹² "As to those Arabic verses, I have sent them to Dr. Pusey to ask if they are respectable Arabic, but he has not replied, and I don't like to worry him about them. Could you ascertain from Professor Palmer whether he thinks them respectable? If he does, by all means let him have the pictures: the only thing I want to guard against is the having them translated by some quite incompetent person."

On March 29, 1878, George A. Macmillan wrote: "Could you kindly return those Arabic manuscripts. The man is in great distress because the magazine in which they were to appear is being kept waiting for them."

This is the final reference to translation problems, as far as I can discover, in the magnificent collection of Dodgson-Macmillan correspondence owned by the Rosenbach Museum.

Various further details (for which the Reverend Mr. Dodgson had an unsatiable appetite) were doubtless arranged in conversations on Dodgson's frequent trips to London,¹³ or in correspondence which has been lost. In response to the suggestion reported in his letter of October 22, 1868, the name of Bill the Lizard became "Wab-

¹² With the co-operation of friends at Cambridge I have made efforts—but without success—to determine whether these Arabic verses were ever published. But see Stuart Dodgson Collingwood, *The Life and Letters of Lewis Carroll* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1898), p. 107: "... one poem, 'Father William,' has even been turned into Arabic."

¹³ He frequently asked Macmillan to buy tickets for him to the theater, furnishing a diagram to make clear *exactly* what seats he wanted. On one occasion he wrote Mr. Macmillan to tip the messenger a shilling, except that *no* tip was to be provided in case Mr. Macmillan's son served as messenger.

bel" in German. In the Italian edition he was "Tonio."

In the French edition Father William became "Père Guillaume." But there was, in the German, the chance of an affront to the Kaiser. So the German poem starts, "Ihr seid alt, Vater Martin."

Dodgson's diary of Tuesday, April 6, 1869, reports, "The German *Alice* came out in February; the French one is now being arranged in pages." So it is clear from this, as well as from all the correspondence quoted, that the very first translation of *Alice* to be published was the German version, translated by Antonie Zimmermann, and issued with the Tenniel illustrations and from the same setting of the type by Macmillan in London and Johann Friedrich Hartknoch in Leipzig. The (until very recently) standard bibliography of Carroll, compiled by S. H. Williams and Falconer Madan, lists the French translation of 1869 ahead of the German translation of the same year; but it is evident that this order of listing should be reversed. This error has been corrected in the 1962 edition of *The Lewis Carroll Handbook*, as revised up to 1960 and augmented by Roger Lancelyn Green.

Although the correspondence quoted in this chapter amply proves that the Reverend Mr. Dodgson was greatly interested in all of the mechanics involved in publishing translations of *Alice*, there is no evidence that his own familiarity with German, French, or Italian was such as to permit him to debate (as he otherwise surely would have done) details of wording. His nephew, Stuart Dodgson Collingwood, said, ". . . he knew very little German and not a word of Russ."¹⁴ When Dodgson's personal li-

¹⁴ *The Life and Letters of Lewis Carroll*, p. 115.

brary was sold at auction after his death, it contained upwards of one thousand volumes. He had a number of Greek, Latin, and Hebrew lexicons. He had three French dictionaries, and one German one. He had sixteen volumes of French schoolbooks, and even more German schoolbooks. But there was not a single volume of literature in either of these languages.

In Chapter VI we will have examples of the way in which Antonie Zimmermann handled the difficult problem of translating *Alice* into German. But since Dodgson himself commented on her skill, the present chapter can well conclude with the tribute printed on the page facing the Table of Contents in the 1869 German edition. Translated into English, it reads:

The author wishes to express his indebtedness to the translator, who has replaced certain occasional parodies of English childhood poetry—understandably unfamiliar to German children—by comparable parodies of well-known German poems. Similarly, certain untranslatable English puns have been replaced by suitable material which the book owes solely to the adroitness of the translator.

The Flood of Translations

V It is my plan to describe in this chapter the sequence in which the first editions of *Alice* have appeared in various languages. Then I will have something to say about the total number of separate editions of translations.

I should at this juncture make it clear that the word “translation” is used here in the sense in which Carroll’s bibliographers use the phrase “translation, etc.” That is, in addition to full-scale versions in languages other than the original, there will be considered translations of abbreviated versions, editions in shorthand, and editions printed in Braille for the blind. In other words, “translation” here means anything you can’t read if you can read only English.

Up to and including the year 1879—fourteen years after *Alice* first appeared in print—the book had been issued in seven languages:

1869	German
1869	French
1870	Swedish

1872	Italian ¹
1875	Dutch (abridged)
1875	Danish
1879	Russian

I put these seven into a distinguished category by themselves, for after this rather concentrated burst of translation it was a good many years before there occurred any comparable level of activity.

Of these seven the prize for rarity must be shared by the first issue of the German and the 1879 Russian, only one copy of each of which is known, so far as I am aware. The next most rare is the 1875 Danish; the next the 1870 Swedish; and the next the 1875 Dutch. The French and Italian firsts are not particularly rare.

These seven constitute the pioneering elite among the translations. I do not intend, in this book, to give formal bibliographical descriptions. Such details are interesting only to the specialists, who already have the bibliographies which describe the principal ones, at least, of the books of which I will speak.

The 1869 German edition was printed by Breitkopf und Härtel in Leipzig. In the case of part of the printing, pages [3]–[10] were replaced by other pages which bore

¹The Parrish collection of Carrolliana, now the possession of Princeton University, contains an Italian *Alice* dated 1871. The date must be a printer's error, immediately corrected; and the volume is thus probably unique: for the Macmillan letter of February 15, 1872, quoted in Chapter IV, states clearly that at that time "we are printing the Italian *Alice*." Not until June 13, 1872, could Macmillan report that copies had been sent to Loescher in Turin, and Dodgson received his first six copies in "the course of the week" after June 25, 1872.

the Macmillan imprint and which have the sentence "Uebersetzt von Antonie Zimmermann" on title. These copies were bound by "Burn & Co. Kirby St. E.C.," and were intended for circulation in England. The other sheets bore the imprint of Johann Friedrich Hartknoch of Leipzig, had on title the sentence "Aus dem Englischen von Antonie Zimmermann," were also bound by Burn in England, and were intended for circulation in Germany.

But at least one copy was bound in Germany, in buff boards with a delicate drawing of the puppy which appears near the end of Chapter IV. This copy, unique so far as I know, is in the Parrish Collection.² Granting that there were other similar copies, this should doubtless be classed as the first issue of the first edition of the German translation.

The first French edition exists in a number of minor variants, differing in size, in the lettering on the spine, in the color of the end papers, and in the smoothness or roughness of the binding cloth. A good collection of translations must contain upwards of a half-dozen copies of the 1869 French edition in order to represent the variations, and definitely more than a half-dozen to do an exhaustive job. Mr. Parrish wrote me in January, 1933, "I know of seven of the 1869 edition of the French Alice differing in the notation at the foot of the back strip." (Unfortunately, I own only four of the seven.)

At the time of publication of the Williams and Madan bibliography in 1931 it was stated, concerning the 1870 Swedish, that "the only copy at present recorded is in the

² A picture of this volume is printed on page 3 of *A Supplementary List of the Writings of Lewis Carroll*, 1938, this being the privately printed second volume of Mr. Parrish's catalogue of his collection.

possession of Mr. M. L. Parrish of Philadelphia." In the correspondence that has preceded the writing of this book, I have learned that this certainly rare volume, in addition to the Parrish-Princeton copy and the copy which I myself bought a quarter of a century ago, is in the following collections: Mr. Arthur A. Houghton, Jr. (two copies, differing in their end papers); the Amory Collection at Harvard University; and one further copy owned by a private collector. These six copies are all I have traced.³

The first Italian exists in several variants, differing in the smooth or rough orange⁴ or the red cloth binding, and in the fact that some were published by Macmillan in "Londra," and some by Ermanno Loescher in Turin. One of the "best-looking" of the 1872 Italian editions is the least desirable, being immaculate, but a rebound remainder issue in smooth red cloth. I have one copy, however, whose binding is a smooth red cloth somewhat orange in tone, purchased at a sale at Sotheby's nearly thirty years ago. This copy was formerly the property of Mrs. Ffooks of Kingscote, Dorchester, Dorset, who was before her marriage Maud Standen. She was one of Carroll's favorite small feminine friends, and she owned many rare Carroll items.

The abridged Dutch edition of 1875 (undated, and sometimes incorrectly ascribed to 1881) is fully described in the standard bibliography. It is considerably more rare than the French or Italian firsts, possibly because it was

³ At the London Centenary Exhibition the only 1870 Swedish shown was Mr. Houghton's copy. At the New York City 1932 Exhibition, the only 1870 Swedish on display was Mr. Parrish's copy.

⁴ Dodgson apparently preferred the rough cloth (see the January 2, 1873, letter quoted in Chapter IV).

bound in paper and was thus a somewhat fragile book when handled by children—and possibly because it was issued in a small edition.

Among these first seven translations the third most rare, as far as I can judge, is the Danish. I bought my own copy in Stockholm twenty-six years ago. I have never actually seen another copy, but I have recently learned that Princeton University has a copy and that there is a copy in the Royal Library in Copenhagen. It is a lovely little volume, $6\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{3}{16}''$ with [4] + 144 pages, bound in lavender boards with a delicate line drawing on the cover. It was translated by "D. G.," and published in Copenhagen by the firm of Fr. Wøldike.⁵ It has forty-one of the Tenniel illustrations. The name Alice is changed to Marie. I am told that the English name Alice was practically unknown in Denmark in 1875, and even nowadays is still considered a specially *English* name, as can be seen from the fact that in a popular newspaper column in Copenhagen, the

⁵ My friend Dr. Knud Max Møller, a scientist in the famous Carlsberg Laboratory in Copenhagen, has made a considerable effort to learn the identity of the "D. G." who translated the 1875 Danish edition. The book seems to have been a pirated edition, for it is not listed in the supposedly complete records of the *Dansk Bogfortegnelse*. This inference is strengthened by the fact that Dodgson and Macmillan apparently had no knowledge of the book. The copy in the Royal Library had earlier been in the private library of King Christian IX (1863–1906). None of the standard Danish handbooks has any record of "D. G." as a pen name. The firm which published the 1875 edition was absorbed, sometime between 1875 and 1912, by Povl Branner, which firm in turn later became amalgamated with Korch to form the firm of Branner and Korch. The firm of V. Pios Boghandel, which issued the second edition, no longer exists.

heroine, who is an imitation of Alice, is called *Miss Malice*, and not *Frøken Malice*.

Following these early and basic seven translations, there was a considerable lull, and then the score for the first editions in other foreign languages goes like this:

1889	Callendar's Cursive Shorthand (Chapter VII only)
1899	Dutch (The first complete Dutch translation)
1903	Norwegian
1906	Finnish
1906(?)	Edition for the Blind. Perkins Institution and Massachusetts School for the Blind. Printed in embossed type rather than modern Braille. Date 1906 or earlier
1909	Pitman Shorthand
1910	Esperanto
1915	Gregg Shorthand
1920	Japanese
1921	Braille
1922	Spanish (Catalan)
1922	Irish (Gaelic)
1922	Chinese
1923	Serbian
1923	Hebrew
1924	Hungarian
1927	Spanish (Castilian)
1927	Polish
1931	Czech
1931	Portuguese
1932	Turkish

1933	Bulgarian
1934	Afrikaans
1935	Pidgin MS of Chapter VII only
1940	Swahili (The first complete Swahili translation)
1946	Arabic
1949	Oriya (India)
1951	Slovenian
1953	Welsh
1955(?)	Bengali
1956	Greek
1956	Hindi (India)
1956	Kanarese (India)
1956	Rumanian
1956	Umbundu (Angola) MS of Chapter I only
1957	Lithuanian
1959	Thai
1959	Croatian
1963	Korean

Date unknown:

Urdu (India) (Recent—1955?)

Icelandic (Recent)

There are, thus, first editions (to use the term very loosely) of *Alice* or some important part thereof in forty plus the basic seven, or forty-seven languages in all.⁶

⁶ All regularly printed editions except as noted. This list of first editions of translations published since 1889 contains 41 entries, for it includes the first complete translation into Dutch, a language that is counted among the basic seven. In compiling the list I have excluded, as well as the abridged Dutch of 1875, a Swahili translation of Chapter I which appeared in 1911 in *Swahili Translations* by J. W. Murchison (printed at Zanzibar by the Gazette Printing Works), and a comic-strip version in Greek, whose date is probably 1951.

The situation with respect to the early Russian translations is somewhat obscure. Madame I. U. Bagrova, the Chief of the Reference Bibliography and Information Service of the Lenin State Library, has very kindly sent me a complete list of the editions in the possession of that library. Madame Bagrova lists first a translation (apparently complete, for the volume contains 249 pages) by A. I. Rozhdestvenskaya. Madame Bagrova stated, "Unfortunately we have not been able to establish the year of the translation of A. I. Rozhdestvenskaya . . . the year of the edition is not marked either on the book or in the bibliographies." I have never seen any other reference to this Rozhdestvenskaya translation.

In second place Madame Bagrova lists the 1909 translation. This text was published by the journal *Tropinka*, in St. Petersburg. It was translated by "Allegro," which was the pen name of Poliksena Sergeevna Solov'eva. After the translation had been published in the journal *Tropinka*, the same house that produced the journal issued the *Alice* translation as a book. This book contained an article, "All About Who Wrote *Alice*," by Vengerova. There is a copy of this 1909 edition in the British Museum; but I know of no copies other than the two mentioned—in the Lenin Library and in the British Museum.⁷

It appears, however, that these two Russian translations, early as they were and excessively rare as they have become, were predated by a still earlier Russian translation.

At Sotheby's on March 3, 1958, there was sold to Maggs

⁷ After rather lengthy negotiations, I have obtained from the Lenin Library photographic copies of the title page and the introductory essay by Vengerova. This essay refers to Christ Church as a "religious institution."

(and subsequently to J. Gannon, Incorporated, of New York City) a Russian *Alice* dated 1879, having Tenniel illustrations, and carrying a title printed in the auction catalogue as "SON V TSARSVE DEVA." It has unfortunately not proved possible to examine this book, nor have I been able to get any information as to its present location or owner. The title, as given in the Sotheby catalogue, appears to be incorrect. The word *tsarstve* means "kingdom," so that a *t* seems to be missing. A difficulty also attaches to the word given in the catalogue as "DEVA." The Russian word *deva* means "maiden" or "virgin": but the genitive case of the word for maiden is *devy*. If we assume that a *t* was omitted from "TSARSVE" and that the final word should be *devy*, then the title would translate as *A Dream in the Kingdom of a Maid*.

Then there is the matter of Dodgson's March 31, 1871, letter to Macmillan stating that a Miss Timiriasef wished to translate *Alice* into Russian. Can it be that she is the translator of the 1879 edition? I have tried for over a quarter of a century to obtain copies of the early Russian editions of *Alice*, prowling the old book shops around the Baltic, in the Russian community in Paris, and elsewhere. I ran an advertisement in a Russian newspaper printed in New York; but the only result was that I received a printed copy of *The Gospel According to St. Luke*, with Russian notes. There seem to be no dealers in "old and rare" books in Russia; and for the moment, at least, the question has to be left in this unsatisfactory state.

The translation of *Alice* into Chinese was done by Dr. Y. R. Chao, Professor of Oriental Languages at the University of California, and very possibly the most perfectly bilingual Chinese-English scholar who has ever lived.

Nearly thirty years ago, when I first acquired one of the

editions of the Chinese translation, I wrote Dr. Chao, and asked if he had any suggestion as to how I might get the other Chinese editions. He reported that the book had been so popular in China that the various printings had disappeared quickly from the market. A paper-bound children's book cannot be expected to last very long; but perhaps, he said, it might be possible to locate some secondhand copies by advertising in one or more rural Chinese newspapers of wide circulation. He very generously offered to write out and place the advertisements, warning me that all this might prove to be somewhat expensive.

After a rather long wait, I heard from Dr. Chao. He had secured enough good clean copies to make three complete sets of all five of the editions then in existence. The bill did seem a little steep; and then I discovered that it was in *Chinese dollars* and that these three complete sets had been obtained for a sum almost fantastically small.

I insisted that Dr. Chao retain one set; one set I gave to Mr. Parrish (so that it is now in the Princeton University Library); and I kept one set. I suspect that these three may be the only complete sets of the first five editions in Chinese, although Mr. Arthur A. Houghton, Jr., has in his collection the second, third, fourth, and fifth Chinese editions. I have an extra copy of the sixth Chinese, inscribed to me by the translator; an extra copy of the third Chinese, with a presentation inscription from Dr. Hu Shih, the great philosopher; and copies of the first (April, 1933) and fifth (1947) editions published after the destruction of the Commercial Press in the Shanghai fighting during 1932. Princeton has the fourth post-1932 edition, dated 1939, and the Students' Edition⁸ of 1927.

⁸ General Ho Chien, Governor General of the Province of Hunan,

In preparing the present book, I have, moreover, turned up numerous Chinese translations in addition to the one by Dr. Chao, including some published under Communist auspices in Hong Kong, and two published in Taiwan. These are all given in the checklist in the Appendix.

My Pidgin translation of Chapter VII, "A Mad Tea-Party," is one which my friend Dr. Margaret Mead, the well-known anthropologist, had made for me many years ago.⁹ She had this "Talk Boy" version vetted by a New Guinea expert, who also furnished a literal phonetic transcription.

The first information I had of the existence of a Swahili edition came from a news item in the *Manchester Guardian*. I sent off an airmail order at once; but by the time my letter arrived the edition was sold out. I wrote to a book-dealer in Nairobi, asking him to try to locate a second-hand copy of the first edition. When, several months later, the book arrived, there came with it a letter which must be almost unique in the book trade. The dealer said that the cost had been so low, and the complications of foreign currency were so great, that he begged me to accept this

issued an edict forbidding the use of this book in schools, on the grounds that it was degrading for human beings to converse with animals.

⁹ My correspondence with Dr. Mead on this subject involved one letter from her as follows:

MASTER!

This fellow man em i stop along New Guinea, em i work i'm now. I think pretty soon paper he come up. He no long time too much. That's all, along one fellow moon more, me go finish along bush.

M. M.

as a gift, with his compliments! I sent him back, as a return gift, *My Antonía*, by Willa Cather, and *The Country of the Pointed Firs*, by Sarah Orne Jewett, wanting to give him a taste of some real North American literature. Subsequently I was in Nairobi, and succeeded in buying the later editions. The illustrations in the Swahili edition are charming, being the Tenniel pictures modified so that Alice is a sweet little black girl.

For many years it seemed unfortunate that *Alice* had never been translated into any one of the languages found east of Turkey and Israel and west of China. As for the languages of India, the explanation was doubtless to be found in the fact that English was so widely known and used there.

In any event, the situation has now changed. A Bengali edition was published in Calcutta in 1955 by Ashoke Pustakalaya, the translation being by Nirmal Kumar Basu. I also have an undated Bengali translation, marked as the third edition, published in Calcutta by Bani Tirtha and translated by Amal Das Gupta; and still another published in Dacca in 1959 by Talebur Rahman and translated by Golam Rahman. Once they got the idea, it seems to have spread rapidly! Through friends in India, and by letters directed to the publishers, I have tried to obtain the missing Bengali editions, and to clear up the matter of dates. But the friends can apparently get no help from book-dealers, who are doubtless completely confused by this interest in obscure little paper volumes for children; and the publishers simply do not answer my letters.

When I was in India not long ago, I spent hours driving around New and Old Delhi to strange little establishments, trying to obtain further copies. These Indian editions are small, paper-bound, and very inexpensive books. The

publishers apparently print small editions, which disappear promptly. When I asked about the possibility of trying to locate secondhand copies of the earlier editions, the dealers quite clearly considered it inexplicable that anyone would want *another* edition of a book he already had and obviously couldn't read. When, in recognition that a twenty- or thirty-cent transaction did not merit a great deal of effort, I offered to pay a few dollars each for any of the missing editions, the dealers promptly concluded—or so it seemed to me—that they were dealing with an insane person, and did their best to get me quietly out of the shop.

My efforts did, however, produce editions in Oriya, one of the chief Sanskritic languages of India, closely related to Bengali and spoken in Orissa and other regions of the eastern part of India; in Urdu, the Persianized Moslem form of Hindustani; in Kanarese, a Dravidian language of south and southwest India; and in Hindi, the official national language of India.

Although I have never succeeded in buying the 1946 Arabic translation, which is paper bound with modern drawings, I do have seven successive issues of a comic strip published in Cairo and based on *Alice*. After I had succeeded in getting these, one at a time, my tenuous hold on the Arab world gave way; and I do not know for how long the series continued.

Inspired at least in part by the *succès fou* of Dr. Alexander Lenard's Latin translation of *Winnie the Pooh* (and urged on by Dr. Lenard, myself, and other Carroll enthusiasts), Mr. George Strugnell, a lawyer of Victoria, Australia, has undertaken to translate the whole of *Alice* into Latin. Mr. Strugnell has written me that he has completed three chapters.

In addition to the forty-seven first editions in foreign languages, etc., which I have listed so far, I have knowledge of upwards of three hundred more translated editions. A condensed checklist of these will be found in the Appendix.

The total of translated editions, including all the firsts, is thus over three hundred. The only thing about this list of which I am certain is that it is incomplete. I have included only what would normally be considered separate editions, not variants of the same editions. The latter are, of course, very numerous. For example, of the undated German edition published in Leipzig by Ed Wartigs-Ernst Hoppe, I have nine copies which differ in the color of the bindings (light-brown cloth, bright-red cloth, light-greenish-brown cloth, pink boards with red cloth spine, light-blue boards with dark-blue cloth spine) and in the colors of ink used on the front and on the spine. Some of these are labeled "Second Edition," and some "Third Edition." Interest in details of this sort seems to be a sex-linked trait, limited to male collectors, and very seldom shared by their wives.

Many libraries include only a few translations, the French, German, and Italian being most common. The library at Christ Church, Oxford, has four translations; the Huntington Library (which includes a lovely copy of the '65 *Alice*) has not gone in for translations at all. Mr. Parrish had thirty copies of translations (including especially interesting German and Italian ones) when his second catalogue was published in 1932. Since Princeton acquired the Parrish collection there have been numerous additions, and the present score is seventy volumes of translations in twenty-six languages.

The Amory Collection at Harvard includes something over sixty-five volumes of translations of *Alice*, in about twenty-five languages. The collection of Mr. Arthur A. Houghton, Jr., contains approximately one hundred and twenty-five copies of translations in twenty-five (or possibly a few more) languages. Mr. Houghton's collection is notable for the number of fine presentation copies of the major translations.

My own collection of translations contains (as is made explicit in the Appendix) about one hundred and sixty copies in forty-two languages.

Everything said so far relates primarily to translations of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*. A collector distinguishes sharply between that book and the companion volume, *Through the Looking-Glass*, if for no other reason than that a good first edition of *Through the Looking-Glass* is worth only one one-hundredth to one-fiftieth as much as a true '65 first *Alice*, and perhaps not more than one-fourth as much as a second edition of *Alice* (the Macmillan 1866) or the second issue of the first edition (either variant of the Appleton 1866).

Children do not make this distinction; but it remains true that *Through the Looking-Glass* has been translated meagerly indeed as compared with *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*.

As far as I know, *Through the Looking-Glass* has been translated into fourteen languages, plus Braille. These *Through the Looking-Glass* editions are:

<i>Date</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Translator</i>
c. 1900	Italian	Milan	--
1920	Japanese	Tokyo	Masao Kusuyama

<i>Date</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Translator</i>
1923	German	Vienna	Helene Scheu-Riesz
1923	Russian	—	T. L. Shopkina-Kupernik
1923	Czech	—	—
1925	Braille	—	—
1930	French	Paris	M. Fayet
1931	Czech	Prague	J. Cisař
1931	French	Paris	M. Fayet
1931	Braille	—	—
1931	Portuguese	São Paulo	Monteiro Lobato
1932	Braille	The Friebus &	Le Gallienne dramatization
1933	Portuguese	São Paulo	Monteiro Lobato
1934	French	Paris	Paul Gilson
1934 ¹⁰	Afrikaans	London	"Tannie"
1935	French	Paris	H. Rouillard
1935	Braille	—	—
1938	French	Paris	M. Fayet
1943	Portuguese	Porto Alegre	Pepita de Leão
1946	Danish	Copenhagen	Kjeld Elfelt
1948	German	Berlin	Werner Bloch
1948	French	Paris	Anne Marie Ramet
1949	French	Paris	André Bay & H. Parisot
1949	Dutch	Rotterdam	C. Reedijk & Alfred Kossmann
1951	Hebrew	Tel Aviv	Aahron Amir
1951	Italian	—	Elda Bossi
1951	Norwegian	Bergen	Zinken Hopp
1952	Italian	Milan	Tommaso Giglio
1953	French	Paris	M.-M. Fayet
1953	Italian	Brescia	Eugenia Segnali
1953	Braille	Louisville, Ky.	—
1955	Bengali	—	Anilendu Chakravarti
1955	Italian	Bologna	Vito Montemagno
1962	Chinese	Taiwan	Wang Tsu-p'ei

¹⁰ The volume is undated, but the publisher (Macmillan) has supplied the date.

Date Unknown:

Czech	Bratislava	Šarlota Barániková
Portuguese	São Paulo	Maria Thereza Cunha de Giacomo

Unpublished MS:

Chinese, translated by Dr. Y. R. Chao (to be published soon; photostat of MS in my possession)

The early Italian translation is curious, in that it occurs in one volume which also includes *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*; and *Through the Looking-Glass* comes first!

Since Carroll's whole world was Wonderland, it is relevant at least to mention others of his works which have been translated. *The Hunting of the Snark* was translated into French in 1929 by Louis Aragon; into Italian in 1943 by C. V. Lodovici; twice into Latin, first by Percival Robert Brinton (London: Macmillan, 1934) and second by H. D. Watson (Oxford: Shakespeare Head Press, 1936); into French by Florence Gilliam and Guy Levis Mano (1948); and again into French by P. Seghers (Aragon, 1949); into Danish by Christopher Maaløe (Copenhagen: Det Schønbergske Forlag, 1963); and also recently into Swedish.

One of the most unusual—as well as most elegant—Carroll translation items I have ever seen is *Chimera*, a work which contains translations into French by Bernard Citroën, with a frontispiece by Édouard Goerg, and twelve grotesque but attractive etchings by Mario Avati. Beautifully printed on very fine paper, the sheets are unbound and enclosed in a handsome slip-case. It was published in Paris in 1955 under the auspices of a group calling itself “les Impénitents.” The translation from Carroll is of the rare piece, “A Photographer's Day Out,”

which was published in the *South Shields Amateur Magazine* in 1860,¹¹ the title being written in French as "Un photographe à la campagne." The other piece in this volume is not by Carroll, and as far as I can see has no relation to him.

The individual poems of the two *Alice* books have challenged a number of translators.

In the October, 1892, issue of *French and German Echoes*, which was a supplement to *The Modern Language Monthly*, there were printed the French and German translations of "Father William." These were the versions from the first French edition and the first German edition. The first stanza of the French is printed first, then the first stanza of the German, and so on, alternating languages; and the appropriate Tenniel drawings are nicely reproduced.

Barbitos: Experiments in Verse-Translation, by J. Lee Pulling, published by the Melbourne University Press in 1939, contains (pp. 106-23) Latin translations of "The Walrus and the Carpenter," "The Whiting and the Snail," "How Doth the Little Crocodile," "Twinkle, Twinkle, Little Bat," and "Father William."

The French writer Henri Parisot has been considerably concerned with Lewis Carroll, and in addition to his translations of *Alice* and the *Looking-Glass*, as given in the lists, he published in 1940 a volume of *Letters to Children* (Paris: R. Marin); in 1949, translations of *The Walrus and the Carpenter and Other Poems* (Paris: G.L.M.); and in 1950, a volume with the French title *Notes de Zoologie* (Paris: Edit. Cobra), this being extracts from Carroll.

¹¹ I know of only two copies of this rare magazine, the one in the Princeton University Parrish Collection, and mine.

Sándor Weöres, a leading Hungarian poet, has issued an anthology of poems translated into Hungarian from various of the twenty-two languages (including Icelandic and Chinese) which he reads, but no one of which, I am told, he can speak. This anthology contains translations of “Jabberwocky” and “Father William” which my friend Dr. Alexander Lenard informs me are “of the utmost perfection.” Weöres is a most interesting, and obviously a very unusual, man. He does not write or translate prose. He has single-handedly created the existing Hungarian nursery rhymes. He came from the landed gentry, but is tolerated by the Communists partly because he so clearly is a wholly “non-political” person, and perhaps partly because many of his poems for children have been translated into Russian and are widely read there.

“Jabberwocky” has presented a stimulating challenge to translators. It was done into Latin in 1881 by Augustus Arthur Vansittart, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge;¹² into Latin by Hassard Dodgson, a Master in the Court of Common Pleas and an uncle of Lewis Carroll;¹³ and more recently, in Alcaic meter, by Mr. George Strugnell, of Victoria, Australia. “Jabberwocky” was translated into Greek in 1918 by the Reverend R. A. Knox, of Balliol College, Oxford;¹⁴ into German (called “Der Jammerwoch” and ascribed as a joke to Herr Hermann von Schwindel¹⁵)

¹² See Stuart Dodgson Collingwood, *The Life and Letters of Lewis Carroll* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1898), pp. 143–45.

¹³ See *The Lewis Carroll Picture Book*, ed. Stuart Dodgson Collingwood (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1899), pp. 364–65.

¹⁴ Published in the Shrewsbury school magazine, *The Salopian*, June 15, 1918, and directly afterwards in the *Morning Post*.

¹⁵ Published in *Macmillan's Magazine*, February, 1872 (see Alexander Macmillan's references to it in letters to Carroll, pp. 47–48

by the Dean of Rochester, Dr. Robert Scott, the scholar who, with Alice Liddell's father, compiled what is still the standard Greek lexicon; into French by Frank L. Warrin, Jr., in *The New Yorker* for January 10, 1931, and again into French by Henri Parisot in 1949. Both "Jabberwocky" and Humpty Dumpty's commentary thereon were published—"translated," if you will—in phonetic notation in *American Speech*, February, 1934. Mr. Stanley Marx, a Carroll collector who lives in Brooklyn, New York, has recently had printed a small edition of "Jabberwocky" in the Shaw alphabet—probably the first printing of the Shaw alphabet in the United States. Humpty Dumpty would doubtless approve of the Shaw alphabet, Mr. Marx says, since it "means exactly what it should mean, no more or less."

"Jabberwocky" lends itself particularly well to parody. During World War II Michael Barsley produced a version that starts:

'Twas danzig and the swastikoves
Did heil and hittle in the reich.
All nazi were the linden groves,
And the neuraths julestreich.

Parke-Davis Shaving Cream in England was advertised in a version called "Shaverwocky," which opens:

'Twas shaving, and the bristly gents
Did writhe and wrestle in the morn.
All anguished were their teguments,
And their follicles out-torn.

In 1934 F. P. A. printed in his column, *The Conning* (above) and reprinted in *The Lewis Carroll Picture Book*, pp. 365–69. It was also reprinted in the February 8, 1947, *New Statesman*.

Tower, in the New York *Herald Tribune*, a *Faërie Queene* version by Junius Cooper, which goes:

The Dewy Dawn from old Tithonus' bed
In Orient splendor, rosy-fingered, rose
And shaking off her dreamy drowsy-hed
Flashed in the East her brillig furbelows.

To end this account of "Jabberwocky" modifications on a more recent note, *Harper's Magazine* in November, 1946, had a version by Eric Larrabee, which begins:

'Twas greenwich and the gromyko
Did byrnes and trygve in the lie.
All evatt was the vandenbergh,
And the thomas connally.

One cannot resist bringing this UN version even more up to date by writing:

'Twas khrushchev and the lumumbas,
Did twist and nasser in the grab:
All zorin were the tschombe groves,
And the hammarskjolds dag.

How Can *Alice* Be Translated?

VI

When a translator sets about transferring the contents of a piece of writing from one language to another, just what does he seek to accomplish? Clearly this question has many answers.

At one extreme, think of an American poet who is translating a three-line, seventeen-syllable Japanese hokku. He obviously must be allowed very wide latitude if he is to re-create anything of the mood and beauty of the Japanese poem within the completely different linguistic and syntactical framework of the English language, and within the almost wholly contrasting artistic and cultural tradition of our country. One should not necessarily expect to find any word-for-word substitution.

At the other extreme, think of the expert—he is likely to be an electronics engineer, a student of linguistics, and a master of grammatical form—who is programming a great electronics computer to translate an article on mathematics from Russian to English. Questions of elegance are now quite irrelevant. Smoothness and even detailed grammatical accuracy are not very important. What

is now essential is the precision with which the substantive content of the article is expressed.

Where, between these two extremes, lies the task of the translator who proposes to tackle *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*?

Such a translator has two inextricably intertwined tasks. For *Alice*, as we have noted earlier, is two books—a book for adults and a book for children. It would, I think, be fascinating to conduct an experiment in which hidden recorders and cameras were trained on adults, each reading *Alice* aloud to a child sitting on his or her lap. I strongly suspect that the children would laugh, and exclaim, and wriggle with delight at points quite other than those that made the adults smile or chuckle.

In translating *Alice*, then, it is ideally desirable that there be preserved all the wonder and excitement and childish humor of the child's book—including, of course, the actual narrative of the adventures, which I suspect constitutes the main appeal to children—and equally desirable that there be preserved all the delicious charm, the unexpected twisted meaning, the bits of paradoxical wisdom, the logical sense and nonsense, of the adult book.

Perhaps expert and sensitive child psychologists could discover how successful various translations have been from the first point of view. The fact that the translations have been very "popular," and in particular have sold well, is almost surely, I think, proof that the translated book does in fact appeal to children of other countries. The only Thai edition was published, a bit at a time, in a children's magazine. In Japan it was not part of the older culture to emphasize books for children; and during recent years some of the best Japanese writers have been trans-

lating children's classics from other languages. In this way *Alice* has been translated at least sixteen times into Japanese!

Thus there are, I think, good reasons for believing that the foreign translations of *Alice* have, to a preponderant extent, been produced for children, have been read chiefly by them, and have been appreciated primarily for the imaginative interest of the actual episodes of the narrative.

The success with which the adult features have been translated is, again, hard to judge properly. For the real questions are, of course: Does the Swahili edition appeal to a Swahili-speaking African? Does a Turkish adult get, from the translated book, as much of the flavor of the original as is transferable into the language-culture patterns of that country? and so on.

To answer such questions in any factual and competent way would require a detailed study of each translation, carried out by individuals completely versed in the language and the culture of each country involved.

I have not attempted, and obviously could not attempt, to answer the really basic questions. What I have done is much more superficial, and indeed is not directed at all to the real question—how good a translation is this? I have asked the much easier and more limited question: How good a translation does this seem to be when examined by an English-speaking person? That is, considering the translation into language *X*, how successfully *to an English-speaking person* does this translation capture and convey those aspects of the original which seem important to us?

To examine this question—a limited one, but I think an

interesting one to English-speaking persons—I have proceeded as follows. I selected a short but familiar and characteristic passage from Chapter VII, “A Mad Tea-Party.” I had photostats made of these pages in each of fourteen languages, choosing those which for one reason or another seemed the most interesting, and in almost every case working with the first edition in the language in question. I then sent these packets of pages to friends of mine who are, in each case, completely at home in the “foreign” language in question, and who also have a perfect command of English. For almost all of these people, the “foreign” language was the native language. I asked each person to translate *literally* back into English without consulting the English original.

As to the particular translations involved, I chose six of the “great seven,” namely, the German, French, Swedish, Italian, Danish, and Russian, omitting the Dutch because it was an abridged version. In addition, simply on the criterion that they seemed especially interesting or especially curious instances, I also selected (in order of appearance of the first editions in these languages) Japanese, Chinese, Hebrew, Hungarian, Spanish (Castilian), Polish, Pidgin, and Swahili.

The “retranslating” collaborators are interesting and distinguished persons—several of them scientists with world-wide reputations. All were happy indeed to help out in this little tribute to the international appeal of *Alice*.

The list of retranslators, putting the languages in alphabetical order, is:

Chinese: Dr. Y. R. Chao, Agassiz Professor of Oriental Languages and Literature, University of California; the translator of *Alice* into Chinese.

Danish: Dr. Heinz Holter, Director of the world-famous Carlsberg Laboratory in Copenhagen.

French: Dr. Gerard R. Pomerat, Associate Director for Biological and Medical Sciences, Rockefeller Foundation. He has spoken French since childhood.

German: Retranslated by the German secretary of Professor J. J. Stoker, Director of the Institute of Mathematical Sciences, New York University, and checked by Professor Stoker, who speaks German fluently.

Hebrew: Dr. Theodore Kollek, Deputy Prime Minister of Israel.

Hungarian: Dr. Alexander Lenard, of São Paulo, Brazil. Dr. Lenard is the Hungarian medical doctor who translated *Winnie the Pooh* into Latin. Dr. Lenard worked from the 1929 edition, translated into Hungarian by Juhász Andor.

Italian: Dr. A. A. Buzzati-Traverso, Director of the Institute of Genetics at Pavia, and Professor of Biology and Head of the Marine Genetics Division, Scripps Institute, La Jolla, California.

Japanese: Retranslated by several Japanese gentlemen, all familiar with English, under the supervision of Miss Yuki Kosai, attached to the office of the National Science Foundation in the United States Embassy at Tokyo. Miss Kosai, a Japanese girl born and educated in Tokyo, has nevertheless spoken English since infancy. They worked from the 1925 edition translated by Shigeo Masumoto.

Pidgin: Dr. Margaret Mead, world-famous cultural anthropologist.

Polish: Dr. Jerzy Neyman, Director of the Statistical Laboratory at the University of California. Dr. Neyman received his Ph.D. degree from the University of Warsaw.

Russian: Retranslated from the 1923 edition of "V. Sirin" (now known to be Vladimir V. Nabokov) by Mrs. George W. Bakeman, now of Hanover, Virginia, whose husband was for many years general manager of the Rockefeller Foundation office in Paris. Mrs. Bakeman, Scottish in parentage, was born in Ekaterinburg, and lived in Siberia and later in Moscow (except for school years in Scotland) until the Revolution of 1917.

Spanish: Dr. Dorothy Parker, an officer of the Rockefeller Foundation, who has lived many years in Spanish-speaking countries.

Swahili: Mr. G. C. Richards, Director of the East African Literature Bureau of Nairobi, and a recognized expert in the Swahili language.

Swedish: Dr. Hugo Theorell, biochemist and Nobel Prize Laureate, of the Nobel Institute for Medicine in Stockholm.

From the adult point of view, the principal problems involved in translating *Alice* relate to:

A) the *verses*, which in almost all of the cases are parodies of English poems, doubtless well known to Dodgson's contemporaries. In the entire book of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* there are nine parodied verses,¹ an original prefatory poem by Dodgson, and one familiar nursery rhyme ("The Queen of Hearts, she made some tarts . . .") which Dodgson left unmodified.

B) the *puns*.

¹ The original of essentially every one of Carroll's verse parodies has now been discovered. Those in the two *Alice* books are reported in *The Parodies of Lewis Carroll and Their Originals*, by John Mackay Shaw, published in December, 1960, by the Florida State University Library.

c) the use of *pecially manufactured words* or *nonsense words*, which occasionally occur in the text, and often occur in the verses.

d) the *jokes* which *involve logic*.

e) and finally, the otherwise unclassifiable Carroll *twists of meaning* with underlying humor, always unexpected and disarming, sometimes gentle, and sometimes very abrupt.

The passage selected for study begins, in the 1865 and 1866 editions, on page 103. It is taken from one of the most familiar and certainly one of the most characteristic chapters—"A Mad Tea-Party." The passage closes just before the end of the chapter, on page 110, when the Hatter (interrupting Alice, who begins a sentence, "I don't think——") abruptly remarks, "Then you shouldn't talk."

Since we will be discussing this passage in some detail, it will be convenient to run through those parts of it which particularly challenge a translator. And we will insert letters (A), (B), etc., at various points to call attention to the fact that at these points there occur instances of the five categories (puns, etc.) which were described just above.

The passage begins:

Twinkle, twinkle, little bat!

How I wonder what you're at!

This verse (A) would, to any English child, sound curiously and disturbingly like the familiar couplet:²

Twinkle, twinkle, little star,

How I wonder what you are!

except that, as so often happens in dreams, things have

² Entitled "The Star," written by Jane Taylor, and first published in 1806 in *Rhymes for the Nursery*.

gone a little queer and wrong. After the Mad Hatter goes on:

Up above the world you fly,
Like a tea-tray in the sky.
Twinkle, twinkle——

still getting the verse just a little mixed up, the Dormouse half wakes up, and partly asleep, sings "*Twinkle, twinkle, twinkle . . .*" until they have to "pinch it to make it stop."

The Hatter then reports that the Queen of Hearts, objecting to the meter of the verse, has accused him of "murdering the time! Off with his head!" This is then converted into a pun (B) by the comment that "Time" was so disturbed by this remark that ". . . ever since that, he won't do a thing I ask." This, you will recall, was why it was always six o'clock, always tea-time; so that there was never a chance to wash up, and the party had to keep moving from place to place to get clean dishes. When Alice asks what they do when they "come to the beginning again," the March Hare interrupts (E), "Suppose we change the subject."

The March Hare then demands a story, and after Alice protests that she knows none, they wake up the Dormouse, who tells about the three little sisters, Elsie, Lacie, and Tillie,³ who lived at the bottom of a well.

"They lived," says the Dormouse in answer to Alice's question, "on treacle" (E).

³ "Elsie, Lacie, and Tillie" are the three Liddell sisters, who appeared more explicitly in the original version, *Alice's Adventures under Ground*. "Elsie" is "L. C." for Lorina Charlotte; "Lacie" is an anagram of Alice; and "Tillie" is short for Matilda, which was Edith Liddell's nickname.

"They couldn't have done that, you know," Alice gently remarked. "They'd have been ill."

"So they were," said the Dormouse; "*very* ill" (E).

Then the March Hare, apparently disturbed by Alice's query as to why these three little sisters lived in a well, interrupts again:

"Take some more tea," the March Hare said to Alice, very earnestly.

"I've had nothing yet," Alice replied in an offended tone: "so I can't take more."

"You mean, you can't take *less*," said the Hatter: "it's very easy to take *more* than nothing."

This point that zero cups of tea plus x cups of tea equals a perfectly real and realizable x cups of tea, whereas zero cups minus x cups leads to a physically unrealizable answer, is a piece of practical algebra that, as we will see, seems to appeal to every person, whatever his language (D).

Alice then comes back to her question as to why the three sisters lived at the bottom of a well. The Dormouse takes "a minute or two to think about it" and then answers, just as though his surprising reply explained everything, "It was a treacle-well" (E).

Alice starts to object but is chided for interrupting the story, and the Dormouse goes on, "And so these three little sisters—they were learning to draw, you know——" (E). Alice forgets her promise not to interrupt any more and asks, "What did they draw?" This time the Dormouse answers at once: "Treacle" (B).

Shortly thereafter Alice cautiously asks the Dormouse,

"Where did they draw the treacle from?"

"You can draw water out of a water-well," said the Hatter; "so I should think you could draw treacle out of a treacle-well—eh, stupid?" (E)

"But they were *in* the well," . . .

"Of course they were," said the Dormouse: "well in" (B).

They were, the Dormouse sleepily goes on, learning to draw

"all manner of things—everything that begins with an M——"

"Why with an M?" said Alice.

"Why not?" said the March Hare (E),

and then the Dormouse, having been pinched by the Hatter, wakes up and goes on: "—that begins with an M, such as mouse-traps, and the moon, and memory, and muchness . . ." (C). Both the unexpected "Why not?" and the unexpectable word "muchness"⁴ are pure Wonderland.

The Dormouse goes on:

". . . did you ever see such a thing as a drawing of a muchness!"

"Really, now you ask me," said Alice, very much confused, "I don't think——"

"Then you shouldn't talk," said the Hatter (E).

Here again is an abrupt and unexpected, but very characteristic, twist of meaning.

If you look back at the occurrence of the capital letters

⁴ This becomes a "nonsense word" when it is taken out of its idiomatic context in the pre-Carrollinian phrase "much of a muchness."

ALICE'S ÄFVENTYR I SAGOLANDET.



AF

LEWIS CARROLL.

ÖFVERSÄTTNING FRÅN ENGELSKAN AF

EMILY NONNEN.

STOCKHOLM,

OSCAR L. LAMM'S FÖRLAG.

Pris 2 R:dr Rmt.

Pictorial cover of the first Swedish edition. Published in Stockholm, 1870, by Oscar L. Lamm.



Alice in Bengali. Illustration and excerpt of text from the second edition of the translation by Nirmal Kumar Basu. Published in Calcutta, 1955, by Ashoke Pustakalaya.

এতক্ষণ এলিসের কিছুই মনে হয় নি। এখান
হঠাৎ মনে হল—বাঃ, বেশ ত মজার ব্যাপার
শশক আবার মানুষের ভাষায় কথা কয়! জাম

แต่เอ๊ะ ชักสงสัยอีกแล้ว เรามาถึงคอนไหนของเดิน
 ศูนย์สูตรนะ?' (ความจริงอดิซึกไม่รู้เหมือนกันว่า
 เดินศูนย์สูตรหมายถึงอะไร เพียงแต่เกิดความรู้สึกว่า
 ถ้าได้ใช้คำนี้แล้ว ดูเหมือนจะโก้ไม่ใช่เล่น)

ขณะนั้น เด็กหญิงเริ่มคิดอีก "นี่ถ้าฉันตก
 ค้างลงไปยังพื้นพิภพ จะรู้สึกเหมือนอะไรน้อ จะต้อง

หนูน้อยผจญภัย



Alice in Thai. Excerpt of
 text, with the title and an
 illustration from the open-
 ing pages. Published in
 Bangkok, 1959-60, in the
 journal *Daroonsarn*.



Alice in Croatian. Illustration and excerpt of the text which faces it, translated by Mira Jurkić-Šunjić. Published in Zagreb, 1959, by Mladost.

Alica se zamisli, jer joj se takav život pričinio vrlo čudnovat, i toliko se smete, da nije znala, šta bi rekla. Onda upita:

— A zašto su živjele na dnu zdenca?

— Nalijte sebi još čaja! — ponudi svojski Ožujski Zec.

— Pazite, šta govorite! Ja dosad nisam ništa uzela — odvrati mu Alica uvrijeđena — pa ne mogu još uzeti.

— Hoćete li to reći, da ne možete uzeti manje? — reče Klobučar.

— Mnogo je lakše uzeti još, nego ništa.

— Vas nije nitko pitao — reče Alica.

— מַה הָעֲבוּדָה הַזֹּאת לָכֶם: תִּירוֹת תַּחֲדוֹ וּפְתָרוֹנִים לֹא יִדְעֶתָּ
 קֵה, כִּמָּה הַזָּמָן רִיק וּמִשְׁעָמָם, קָצֵה נַפְשִׁי בּוֹ! — אָמְרָה עָלֶיךָ
 — אֱלֹו יִדְעֶתָ אֶת הָאָדוֹן זְמַן כְּמוֹנִי, לֹא דִבַּרְתָּ עָלָיו דְּבָרִים כָּאֵל

Alice in Hebrew. Illustration by A. Rackham and excerpt of text from the 1924 edition, translated by L. Simon. Published in Frankfurt by Omonuth.





SURA VII

KARAMU YA WENYE WAZIMU

PALIKUWA na meza chini ya mti, mbele ya nyumba; kwenye meza walikuwapo watu watatu. Walikuwa: Kobe, Mwuza Kofia, na Komba.

Komba alikuwa amelala usingizi na wenzake walimwagimia kwa visigino juu ya mgongo, walikuwa wakisema kwa kelele. Elisi akafikiri “Masikini Komba! Lakini kwa kuwa amelala labda si vibaya.”

Ingawa meza ilikuwa kubwa watu wale watatu walikuwa wamekaa kwa kusongana sana penye pembe moja; na walipomwona

Alice in Swahili. A page from the first complete edition, translated by E. V. St. Lo Conan-Davies. Published in London, 1940, by the Sheldon Press.

と、われがねのようなこえて、さわぎたてました。

「このくびは、もうきれております。」

と、くびきり人がこたえました。

おこったかおで、そらをにらんでいた王さまがいました。

「そうではないであろう。このように、べチャべチャしゃべるではないか。」

「しゃべってはおりますが、あのよう
に、どうがございません。」

「バカものめ！」

と、王さまはどなりました。

そして、

「だれか、このネコのくびをちょん

TAIZO



Alice in Japanese. A page from the translation by Ema Shoko, illustrated by Taizo Iwai. Published in Tokyo, April, 1961, by Kaiseisha.



Pictorial cover of the first Danish edition. Published in Copenhagen, 1875, by Fr. Wøldike.

in this résumé, you will see that the passage contains, to test the translators, one parodied verse, three puns, one invented word, one logical joke, and eight instances of what I have called "twists."

Now we must see how the various translators, in the various languages, have tackled (or evaded) these problems.

A) PARODIED VERSE

There are three ways to approach the problem of translating into another language a verse which parodies a poem well known in English. By far the most sensitive and satisfactory procedure is to choose a poem of the same general type which is familiar in the language of translation, and then write a parody of that non-English poem (in the translation language, of course) in a manner which imitates the style of the English author.

A second, and less satisfactory, way is to translate, more or less mechanically, the parodied verse into the second language. This procedure would presumably be followed only by a translator who does not realize that the verse is in fact a parody of a well-known verse, but assumes that it is simply a little, partially nonsensical verse which he is supposed to deal with on a word-for-word basis. This second procedure would be automatically necessary, of course, in a language in which there simply do not exist indigenous verses of a suitable character—and we will find such instances.

The third way is for the translator to say, "This is a nonsense verse. I can't translate nonsense into my language; but I can write an entirely different bit of nonsense verse in my own language, and substitute it."

All three of these procedures have been followed. Among our examples, the first and really satisfactory procedure has been used in the Danish, French, German, Hebrew, Hungarian, and Russian translations.⁵

The Danish version, which goes, in retranslation,

Fly, oh fly, my owl,
 Fairest of all fowl!
 Up to the clouds, fly away
 Like tea-things in a bag.
 Fly, oh fly——

is, so Dr. Holter tells me, “reminiscent of another (Danish) song beginning ‘Fly, bird, fly . . .,’ but it could in no way be as close and compelling as the ‘Twinkle, twinkle, little bat’ theme.” The Danish version of the verse certainly does not merit a very high mark.

The French version goes:

Ah, I will tell you, my sister,
 What causes my pain.
 It is that I had some candied almonds,
 And that I ate them.

This is a confused (and it seems to me not very clever) modification of a rhyme apparently well known to French children a century ago:

Ah! Vous dirai-je, Maman,
 Ce que cause mon tourment?
 Papa veut que je raisonne
 Comme une grande personne.

⁵ In all the lists of translations, I will, in the interests of neutrality, put the languages in alphabetical order. Preferences will be stated later.

Moi, je trouve que les bonbons
Valent mieux que la raison.

The German translation does a stunning job with this verse. Working from the poem, familiar to every German child:

O Tannenbaum, O Tannenbaum,
Wie treu sind deine Blätter,

Fräulein Zimmermann produced a verse which reads, in retranslation:

O parrot, O parrot,
How green are your feathers!
You are green not only in peace time,
But even when it snows pots and pans.
O parrot, O parrot——

At this juncture in the German version, the Woodchuck (who, being also a notoriously sleepy animal, replaces the Dormouse) says, as he goes back to sleep:

O Papagei, O Mamagei,
O Papagei, O Mamagei.

This use of the manufactured word *Mamagei* as the feminine of the masculine German word for parrot (*Papagei*)⁶ is in the pure spirit of Carroll, and is an improvement over the original.

The Hebrew version of this parody is a delight, showing real imagination and invention. The retranslation goes:

He who divides between holy and profane—
All who are hungry may come and eat—

* The German word for female parrot is *Papagei-weibchen*.

In everything, with everything, of everything, all:
Celery, to break in half, lettuce, and beans.

“Surely you have heard this song?”

“I have heard, I think, something like it,” answered Alice.

“And the end of the song is like this,” added the Hatter, and he began to sing again:

“Sins He will forgive, tudum tudum tudum will
forgive——”

Suddenly the Dormouse was shocked and began to sing, still asleep: “With sand, with sand, with sand” and repeated this word countless times until the Hatter pinched her strongly and she became quiet.

What the translator has done here is this: he has taken a number of well-known prayers and sayings, and mixed them up so as to obtain the impression created by misquoting “Twinkle, twinkle, little star.” The first line of the quatrain is taken from the Havdalah prayer which is recited by the head of the household at the end of the Sabbath. The only connection with “star” that comes to mind stems perhaps from the custom that Jewish children have of scanning the sky on Saturday night for the appearance of the first three stars. These signify (with certain qualifications) that the end of the Sabbath has come, and preparations for the Havdalah service are then made.

The second line is from the Passover Haggadah, inviting all those who are hungry to come and join the Seder table on Passover night.

The third is a misquotation from grace after meals, in which one prays that the Lord “Bless us as he blessed

Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob" with everything. It involves a play on the word "everything." This was explained by the Sages as, "With everything, from everything; therefore, everything."

The last line is a nonsense mixture of part of the Pass-over Seder, along with the names of the more common vegetables eaten in Israel.

The Hebrew word for "He will forgive" is *Ym-Hol*, and the word *Eem-Hol* means "with sand." This (which is an extra pun) explains the odd refrain the Dormouse picks up from the song of the Hatter.

It must be agreed, I think, that this Hebrew treatment of the parody is excellent. But I am not sure that the Reverend Mr. Dodgson, who was an excessively pious person, would have approved the admixture of family prayers and nonsense.

The Hungarian version goes like this in retranslation:

Oh, how high, how high, is this country inn.
Is there in it, is there in it, tea with rum to sell?
If there is no tea with rum to be sold in it,
The country inn should collapse.

There is, Dr. Lenard tells me, a very old Hungarian song, with only four lines of text, which, in translation to English, is:

Oh, how high, how high, is this country inn.
Is there a brown-haired marriageable girl⁷ in it?

⁷ The Hungarian term, strictly translated, is "girl-at-sale"; but Dr. Lenard says that this was a perfectly proper idiomatic term for "marriageable girl" or "marriageable daughter." I suppose that the "at sale" implies a dowry, or a wedding gift.

If there is no brown-haired marriageable girl in it,
The country inn might as well collapse.

The Russian version is especially clever and sensitive. The edition which I had retranslated was published in Berlin, the translator's name being printed as "V. Sirin" or "B. Sirina," depending on how one transliterates the Cyrillic alphabet. It is, however, now known that "Sirin" is the pseudonym used by Vladimir V. Nabokov during his period in Germany (he has recently resumed the occasional use of this nom de plume). An article⁸ about Nabokov states that he received five dollars for making this translation.

In retranslation the Russian verse goes:

Mushroom, mushroom, where hast thou been?
On the lawn, drinking the rain.
I drank one drop,
And I drank two drops,
And it became damp in my head.

Following this, the Dormouse sleepily says, "Damp, damp, damp, damp."

Now Russian children of that time knew a rhyme that went:

Siskin, siskin, where hast thou been?
I have been at the little fountain, drinking vodka.
I drank one little glass,
I drank another little glass,
And it began to buzz in my head.

Practically all the Russian nouns in the verse are in the

⁸ *Esquire*, August, 1960.

specially endearing diminutive forms. The Russian word used for "mushroom" is the name of the saffron milk-cap, a red-topped mushroom; and the same word is applied, rather affectionately, as "you little red-head," to a child or person. Similarly the word *chizhik* for siskin (a small greenish-yellow finch very common in Russia) could be used as a caressing diminutive in addressing a child, as we might say "little chicken" or "honey" or (in the South) "sugar."

The Russian word *vodka* means "water" as well as the alcoholic drink; so that the Russian verse contains a pun which (the Reverend Mr. Dodgson forbid!) was of course not in the original. All in all, the Russian translation of this parodied verse deserves a very high score indeed.

The Chinese, Japanese, Pidgin, Spanish, and Swahili translations follow the second course of simply moving the words of the English version over into the second language. But we must recognize that in Chinese, Japanese, Pidgin, and Swahili there could hardly have been available indigenous verses to parody. In both China and Japan the literature for children was scanty indeed until recently. Thus, of this group, we cannot fairly criticize any of the translators (other than the Spanish, perhaps) for following the course they chose.

The verses go this way, in retranslation:

Chinese

T'ingkêr, t'ingkêr, little bat,
 Tell me nicely what you want.
 Flying in the sky so high,
 Like a tea tray float-a-float,
 T'ingkêr, t'ingkêr——

Dr. Chao has explained to me that, in retranslating back to English, he is not being as literal as some translations from Chinese have been. He says, "I limit myself to translating the actual in-text meanings of the whole syntactical words and never try to translate the bound monosyllables into their etymological meanings if they are not being used in the text, for example, *hsien-sheng* not as 'first born' but as 'gentleman' or 'sir' or 'Mr.' according to context. To show you what you would get by etymological translation, I will give the first two lines of 'Twinkle, twinkle.'"⁹ (See pp. 94-95.)

Japanese

Little twinkling bat,
Who on earth are you?
Flying so high up in the sky,
Like a heavenly tea tray,
Shining and twinkling.

Pidgin

Tremble, tremble,¹⁰ little bat.
I would like to know where you're at.
You can fly very high.
Tremble, tremble, little bat.

⁹ For these two words, Dr. Chao chose to translate the *sound*, rather than the *meaning*.

¹⁰ The Pidgin word is the one used for a minor earthquake. The February 16, 1961, issue of *The New Scientist* contains an interesting article (p. 413) by Professor Robert A. Hall, Jr., of Cornell University, with the title, "How Pidgin English Has Evolved."

Spanish

Tw—— twinkle, bat, lost in the blue sea,
 Your flight is weakened in a swaying,
 Fluctuation, a wavering of a bowl.
 Tw—— twin—— twinkle.

Swahili

Bat, bat, how do you shine?
 Tell me what you are doing.
 Like a teapot, like firewood,
 You fly in the sky.
 Bat, bat, how do you shine?
 Tell me, what are you doing?
 Bat, bat, tell me,
 What are you doing?

These are surely not very inspired. Taking into account the limitations of the language, and assuming that “firewood” means or implies the sparks flying up from a wood fire, I think the Swahili version wins in this group.

In Italian, Polish, and Swedish, the translators chose the third procedure described above, and have simply composed a new piece of nonsense verse.¹¹ It may be, of course, that some of these are related to familiar verses in the language of translation; but my expert friends were in no case aware of this.

The verses go, in retranslation:

Italian

You who spread out your wings to the sky,
 Oh, my mangled head!

¹¹ The Polish and Swedish versions do bear some partial resemblance to the originals.

ETYMOLOGICAL TRANSLATION OF
 “TWINKLE, TWINKLE, LITTLE BAT” INTO
 CHINESE (OPENING LINES)

汀	t'ing ¹	shallow beach	
格	ko ²	pattern, partition	
兒	-r	diminutive suffix	
汀	t'ing ¹	shallow beach	
格	ko ²	pattern, partition	
兒	-r	diminutive suffix	
小	hsiao ¹	little	
蝙	pien ¹	bat	}
蝠	fu ²		
好	hao ³	good, well	} good and properly
好	hao ¹	good, well	
兒	-r	adverbial suffix	
說	shuo ¹	say	
來	lai ²	come (i.e., to me)	
你	ni ³	you	

何	ho ²	what	
所	so ³	that which	
欲	yü ⁴	want	
飛	fei ¹	fly	
在	tsai ⁴	at	
天	t'ien ¹	sky	
上	shang ⁴	above	
那	na ⁴	that	} so
麼	me	adverbial suffix	
高	kao ¹	high	
像	hsiang ⁴	like	
個	ko	a	
茶	ch'a ²	tea	
盤	pa(n) ²	tray	
兒	-r	noun suffix	
漂	p'iao ¹	float	
呀	-a-	-a-	
漂	p'iao ¹	float	

You address yourself to me, sliced:
I will add the bread with you!

Polish

Prop open your eyes, prop open your eyes,
You, my little bat.
Isn't it strange, isn't it strange,
That your spirit is so brave.
You are flying high, you are flying high,
Way above the universe,
Just like weightless steam out of the teapot.

Swedish

Little rose, little rose so red,
With thee we have nothing to dread.
Little rose, why do you fly,
Like a teacup high in the sky;
Twinkle, twinkle——

B) PUNS

The passage contains three examples of puns, based upon the following double meanings:

“to murder time”: “to spoil the meter of a verse” or “to kill Father Time”;

“to draw”: “to take liquid from a container” or “to make a picture”;

“well”: as a noun, “the source of well-water,” but as an adverb, “thoroughly” or “completely.”

The treatment of a pun may be characterized as *excellent* (in which case the same or an appropriately similar pun is concocted in the translation language), *fair* (if this

is done, but not very clearly or cleverly), *missed* (if the passage is translated word-for-word with no recognition that a pun is involved), or *omitted* (if the translator just gives up and leaves out the passage in question as untranslatable).

On this basis, the score for “murder time” (which is relatively easy to translate) is *excellent* for French, German, Hebrew, Hungarian, Polish, Russian, Swahili, and Swedish; *fair* for Chinese, Danish, Italian, and Spanish; and *missed* for Japanese and Pidgin. To give an example of each quality:

Russian (excellent)

. . . suddenly the Queen jumped up and barked out,
“He is killing time—off with his head.”

“How dreadfully cruel,” exclaimed Annya.

“And from that time,” drearily added the Hat-maker, “Time refuses to serve me. Now it is always five o’clock.”

Spanish (fair)

. . . the Queen began to shout, “You are killing time. Cut off his head!”

“How atrocious! What a beast!” exclaimed Alice.

“Well, then,” added the Hatter very sympathetically, “time does not take satisfaction in anything. It strikes six in the evening and does not go on from there.”

Japanese (missed)

. . . when the Queen said, “We wasted our time. Chop off his head.”

"How barbaric," cried Alice.

"You haven't done anything I've asked you lately, have you? It's always six o'clock," the Hatter continued in a sad tone.

The treatment of the pun about "drawing" (water, treacle, or pictures) is much more interesting. This pun is *missed* in the Chinese, Danish, Hebrew, Italian, Japanese, Pidgin, Polish, Spanish, Swahili, and Swedish translations; but is rather remarkably handled in French, German, Hungarian, and Russian.

The French translation does not solve this problem by direct assault—for a single word with the two English senses apparently does not exist in the French language—but very neatly meets the issue by substituting a different pun, based on the fact that the verb *tirer*, when used as an active verb, means "to draw or pull" (water out of the well, for instance), but when used reflexively, means "to extract oneself from a predicament" (and the three little sisters *were* in a predicament, being down in the well).

In the German version, the little sisters were learning how to draw (the German verb being *zeichnen*, one meaning of which is "to draw or sketch pictures"); but then presently the Hatter remarks:

"As if all the treacle which you buy in the store were not *branded* . . . didn't you see on it all the time: Best Quality, Very Best Quality, Superfine Quality. . . ."

The word "branded" is the German word *gezeichnet*, now using the verb *zeichnen* in one of its other meanings.

And it seems to me entirely possible that there are overtones here of a still richer play on words, because of the similarity in sound between *zeichnen* ("to draw pictures") and *ziehen* ("to pull or draw," as water).

The Hungarian translator, in place of the phrase that the little sisters were learning to draw, used the phrase (in retranslation) that "the three sisters learned a lot of things, addition, subtraction——." Then, since there is a single verb in Hungarian that means both "to subtract" and "to extract," the stage is all set for a substitute pun.

In the Russian version there is, just a bit before the occurrence of the "draw"-*"draw"* pun, a very nice touch which is an original invention, as far as I know, of Mr. Sirin-Nabokov. When the Dormouse first begins the story of the three little sisters in the well, he starts out, in retranslation, exactly as does a charming childhood rhyme familiar to Russian children of that time, which goes:

There were three little Chinamen,
Yak, Yaktsidrak, and Yaktsidraksidroni;
And three little Chinese girls,
Tsip, Tsipsidrip, and Tripsidripalapomponi.

They got married,
Yak and Tsip,
Yaktsidrak and Tsipsidrip,

And
Yaktsidraksidroni and Tripsidripalapomponi.

The Russian treatment of the "draw"-*"draw"* pun is clever indeed. When the English text first states that the three little sisters were learning to draw, the Russian word used, roughly transliterated as *cher-pat*, means "to draw water"; so that the Dormouse can entirely accurately ex-

plain that they were learning to draw (*cher-pat*) treacle. But several sentences later the Dormouse remarks, as Mrs. Bakeman skillfully retranslated it, that the children "were learning how to dip and draw." The "dip" is translated from a form of *cher-pat*, but the word "draw" is translated from a form of the Russian verb *cher-teet*, which means "draw" in the sense of an engineer or architect making a working drawing. So there is in the Russian a rapid sliding over of sound and meaning, which corresponds very closely to Mrs. Bakeman's retranslation, "dip and draw."

We can hardly hope that any translator, in any language, could deal successfully with the pun which states that the children in the well were well in. The Danish, French, and Italian versions dispose of this problem by omitting the remark altogether. The other languages under consideration here all (with the exception of Chinese) simply translate the substantive fact that the children were "of course, right at the bottom" (Danish), or "directly on the dirt floor of the well" (Hebrew), or that "certainly they were inside the well" (Pidgin).

The Chinese version, however, has a real triumph here. The Chinese word for the noun "well" is *ching*. And there is a word *chin-chin*, which means "completely" or "absolutely"! The Chinese pun is especially perfect, Dr. Chao says, for speakers of the Yangtze Valley dialects (representing about a third of the Chinese population), for they pronounce final *-in* and *-ing* alike.

And the Hungarian version has a triumph also! The Hungarian word *kútjában* (derived from *kút*, "a well") means "in the well of." The word *kutya* means "dog"; and when used in an adjectival sense, it indicates "very bad."

Thus *kutya hideg* literally means “a dog cold,” but colloquially it means “a very bad cold.”¹² Thus the Hungarian words *kútjában*, meaning “in the well of,” and *kutyábban*, meaning “even worse off,” sound almost exactly the same, and make possible a very nice pun which surprisingly literally and cleverly translates the English pun.

C) MANUFACTURED OR NONSENSE WORDS

There is only one example in our passage of a word which falls into this category: “muchness,” the final word in the Dormouse’s list of “everything that begins with an M.” The interest in the peculiar use of this word is increased by the Dormouse’s question, “Did you ever see such a thing as a drawing of a muchness.”

This passage is handled very well indeed in almost all the languages we are surveying. The French version rather surprisingly omits this bit entirely, as does (more understandably) the Pidgin version. But all the others are skillful and imaginative.

In the Chinese, because of the nature of the written language, the word must begin with an “*m*-sound” rather than with the letter *m*. But the list goes on with cat (*mao*), moon (*ming-yuch*), dream (*meng*), and good-and-full (*mamma’rte*), ending up with the question, “What good is a good-and-full?”

The German list is mouse-trap, moon, missing things, and many times, ending with the question, “Have you ever seen many times drawn?”

The Italian list, using words beginning in that language

¹² A bitch of a cold?

with a *t*, is trap, rat, rat's nest, and too much, ending with the question, "Have you ever seen the portrait of too much is too much?"

In the Russian language there does not seem to be any reasonable way of translating "muchness," so Sirin moved to the other extreme and used here a Russian word meaning "not enough of," or "insufficiency," ending with the question, "Did you ever see a diagram of insufficiency?"

The Spanish version (not usually so clever) used for "muchness" a word meaning "a roll of drums," implying repetition, and asks if anyone ever saw a drawing of repetition.

The Swahili version does not give any list of words, but in answer to the question, "Why beginning with M?" contents itself with replying, simply, "Because M is such a nice letter."

D) JOKES WHICH INVOLVE LOGIC

The logical joke (D) concerning the impossibility of having less than no cups of tea presents no verbal difficulty to a translator, just assuming that he understands the joke in English. This passage is translated accurately and effectively in eleven of the fourteen languages here under consideration. The poor versions go like this:

Pidgin

"Drink a little more tea, eh?" March Hare spoke directly to Alice.

"I didn't have any tea in the first place," said Alice crossly, "so how can I have more?"

"You must take better care of your tea," said the

Hatter. "If there is no tea, you can get more; but just because half of it is gone, you can't waste the other half."

Spanish

"Have a little more tea," said the March Hare to Alice, with extreme solicitude.

"I have not taken any yet," Alice answered in the tone of an offended person; "I do not know how I am going to have more."

"Do you want to say that you cannot take less?" said the Hatter. "But it is easy to take less than nothing."

Swahili

"Drink some more tea, my child," Tortoise said to Alice.

Alice replied, "I haven't yet drunk any tea, not a drop, so I can't drink any more."

And Alice put some tea into a cup and drank, and asked again why those three children lived at the bottom of a well.

Thus the Pidgin, Spanish, and Swahili versions score, on this passage, a clean miss.

E) TWISTS OF MEANING

The treatments of the Carroll "twists" are difficult to characterize in the various translations, for these all depend for their elements of humor and surprise upon that sort of subtle interpretation of overtones which most of us can make, at best, in our own language.

There are eight of these twists in our passage:

1) March Hare: "Suppose we change the subject" (abrupt).

2) Dormouse: "on treacle" (completely unexpected).

3) Dormouse: "So they were—*very* ill" (completely unexpected).

4) Dormouse: "It was a treacle-well" (as though that explained everything).

5) Dormouse: "learning to draw, you know" (when of course you didn't know).

6) Hatter: "I should think you could draw treacle out of a treacle-well—eh, stupid?" (tautological and rude).

7) March Hare: "Why not?" (in answer to Alice's question, "Why with an M?", unexpected and mildly insulting).

8) Hatter: "Then you shouldn't talk" (a rather rude and surprising remark, half making a pun out of "I don't think——").

It would be tedious and boring to examine the detailed treatment of each one of these eight twists in fourteen retranslations. Most of them are handled satisfactorily. For instance, the first four of the examples listed above, not involving any particular verbal problems, are translated reasonably well in all of our chosen languages, except for the predictable instances of Pidgin (which does the first two well, but omits the third and fourth), and Swahili (which does the second well, but omits the other three).

The special flavor of "you know" in Example 5 (when of course it was ridiculous to think that Alice *would* know) is pretty well lost in the translations. The Chinese, German, and Swedish are very accurate, and the Japanese and Spanish have a mild imitation. The rest miss *this* minor point entirely.

The rather insulting quality of Number 6, reinforced by the final “eh, stupid,” is competently handled in each of our illustrative languages—just as though any language and any culture recognize pert and saucy remarks, and are all equipped to express them!

The abrupt and unanswerable “Why not?” of Number 7 is handled very well in most of our fourteen languages, the exceptions being French (which omits the whole passage about the letter *m*), Japanese (which instead of “Why not?” says, “Why do you ask like that?”), and Pidgin (which omits the passage about *m*).

The equally abrupt “Then you shouldn’t talk” of Number 8 could almost have been classified as a pun, since Alice’s casual, “I don’t think . . .” is interpreted by the Hatter in a serious sense which differs markedly from Alice’s real meaning. The interest of the Hatter’s remark derives partly from its surprising and slightly rude character, but also depends in good part on the pun on the two senses of “think.” It is therefore to be expected that this passage will be badly missed by most of the translations. In the Hebrew retranslation it goes, for example:

Alice: “If you ask me, I am not ashamed to admit that——”

Hatter: “In that case it would be better if you kept quiet and didn’t interrupt again.”

In the Italian version, Alice’s preliminary remark is omitted, so that the passage (starting a little further back) is really a bad failure:

Dormouse: “. . . have you ever seen the portrait of ‘too much is too much’?”

Hatter: “Then do not speak.”

On the other hand, the Chinese, German, Polish, and Swedish versions handle this Number 8 perfectly.

To conclude these comments on the ways in which the translators dealt with their various tasks, it may be interesting to note what happens to certain of the names.

Alice remains Alice, except for the use of Marie (Mary) in Danish (see p. 57), Annya (Anna) in Russian, and Allisū in Chinese.

The Mad Hatter is usually translated simply as the Hatter, the Hatmaker, or (in Swahili) the Seller of Hats.

The Dormouse is replaced by the equally sleepy Woodchuck in both German and Polish, is called Hazel Mouse in Swedish, Lemur in Swahili, Marmot in Hungarian, Mole in Spanish, and is simply given the name Sleepyhead in Russian.¹³

The March Hare is called exactly that in Chinese, Italian, Pidgin, Polish, and Russian; in Danish, French, and Swedish is called simply Hare; in German, the Silly Hare (*faselhase*); in Hebrew, the Hare of Nissan;¹⁴ in Japanese, the Wild Rabbit; in Swahili, the Tortoise; and in Hungarian, the Easter Rabbit!

¹³ Dormouse is the word for the whole family *Muscardinidae* (containing genera such as *Glis*, *Muscardinus*, *Myoxus*, etc.). The dormouse is a small rodent of arboreal habits and a squirrel-like appearance. One of its names in German, *Schlafratte*, refers directly to its custom of hibernating. There are a number of old-world species occurring in Europe, Russia, Asia, and Africa. The Hazel mouse is *Muscardinus avellanarius*, and is thus a dormouse. A marmot is similar to a woodchuck. The mole and the lemur (a nocturnal animal related to the monkey) are of course quite distinct from the dormouse.

¹⁴ Nissan is the Hebrew name for first month of spring, corresponding to March.

Treacle, as one might expect, is variously translated as molasses (as in Polish), honey (as in Swedish), syrup (as in Russian), and sugar water or sugared water (in Japanese and Pidgin).

The three little sisters, Elsie, Lacie, and Tillie, quite understandably have their names somewhat altered to fit the customs of the various cultures. They become, for example, Aiêrshi, Lahsi, and T'iehli in Chinese; Karen, Maren, and Mette in Danish; Baya, Pya, and Raya in Hebrew; Elizabeth, Lisbeth, and Bessy in Hungarian; and Marsya, Parsya, and Dasya in Russian.

Judging from the entire passage with which we have been concerned, how successfully, do we find in summary, have the special problems in translating *Alice* been met in our selected group of languages? The German, Russian, and Hebrew versions seem exceedingly good; and although the French misses some opportunities, it does well on others. As nearly as I can judge or guess, the Chinese version is incredibly good, considering the inherent difficulties.

The Japanese version both puzzles and intrigues me. The three retranslations I have, all being made from exactly the same Japanese passage, differ so much, one from another, that it seems clear that translation back and forth between English and Japanese must be a rather loose and vague business. Could, for example, two excellent Japanese scholars translate into their language two different books by an American or English author in such a way that a third Japanese scholar would recognize the similarity of style?

It seems, to me at least, curious that the Romance languages—French, Italian, and Spanish—seem to lag quite

definitely behind the strange front group of German, Russian, Hebrew, and Chinese. Indeed, it is hard to avoid the tentative conclusion that the good instances are good because of the skill of the translators, rather than because of any inherent suitability or lack of resource of the language—with two exceptions to this remark: Swahili (which certainly suffers from lack of resource), and Japanese (which *seems* to suffer from the fact that this language communicates in a way which is really substantially different from English). One would expect this same handicap to apply to Chinese; but if it does, Dr. Chao, who has extraordinary skill and a profound knowledge of both Chinese and English, manages to surmount the difficulties amazingly well.

One can hardly avoid an embarrassed feeling of sympathy for the brave but not very successful attempt to translate *Alice* into Swahili. Indeed, one feels that he should apologize at once for rating the Swahili translation so low. In the terms of Dr. Johnson's famous remark about a woman preaching or a dog walking on its hind legs, the fair observation is not complaint that it is done poorly, but rather amazement that it is done at all. It must, however, be agreed that the Swahili version is a rather dull and solemn affair, which completely omits a great deal, and which, at least in retranslation, seems to fail to capture much of the spirit of the English original.

Examining these fourteen instances of translation of a typical passage from *Alice* makes one (at least it makes me!) very curious indeed about the degree of success of other languages. What success do Arabic and Welsh and Thai and Turkish and Hindi have? I can only hope that someone will be inspired to find out.

Appendix / Index

Appendix: Checklist of Editions of Translations

Under the language of translation there will be stated, in each case, the date, the letter "W" in case the volume is in the author's own collection, the publisher, the place of publication, and the translator—sometimes followed by auxiliary information. Shorthand and Braille editions are included, although not, strictly speaking, translations.

<i>Date</i>		<i>Publisher</i>	<i>Place</i>
AFRIKAANS			
1934 ¹	W	Macmillan	London
ARABIC			
Nov. 1946		Ragharte Press	Cairo
1956	W	—	Cairo
BENGALI			
?		Ashoke Pustakalaya	Calcutta
1955	W	Ashoke Pustakalaya	Calcutta
Nov. 1957		Talebur Rahman	Dacca
March 1959	W	Talebur Rahman	Dacca
?		Bani Tirtha	Calcutta
?		Bani Tirtha	Calcutta
N.D.	W	Bani Tirtha	Calcutta
BRAILLE			
1906 or earlier		Perkins Institution ² and Massachusetts School for the Blind	—

¹ This volume is undated, but the publishers have furnished the date.

² Mr. Edward J. Waterhouse, the present Director of the Perkins School for the Blind, has written me, "When the Perkins School for the Blind gave up the use of 'Boston Line Letter' in favor of Braille, only a few sample copies of the earlier

N.D. means "No date given or known." A question mark also indicates that the date is unknown, but this notation is used when there is some evidence that the item is placed in its proper chronological order.

W. & M. — G. refers to *The Lewis Carroll Handbook*, Oxford University Press, 1962, which is the new version "Revised, Augmented, and Brought up to 1960" by Roger Lancelyn Green of the *Handbook of the Literature of the Rev. C. L. Dodgson* by Sidney Herbert Williams and Falconer Madan, published by the Oxford University Press in 1931.

<i>Translator</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
"Tannie"	1st Afrikaans edn. Die Kinderklas- sieke #23 and #24a (both <i>Alice</i> and <i>Through the Looking-Glass</i>)
Abdul aziz Tewfig Jawir —	1st Arabic edn. A comic strip based on <i>Alice</i>
Nirmal Kumar Basu	1st Bengali edn.
Nirmal Kumar Basu	2nd edn.
Golam Rahman	
Golam Rahman	2nd edn.
Amal Das Gupta	
Amal Das Gupta	2nd edn.
Amal Das Gupta	3rd edn.
—	Embossed type: 1st edn. for Blind?

form were retained in our library and museum. Among these *Alice in Wonderland* was not included." It therefore seems probable that the copy of this embossed-type *Alice* owned by Mr. Arthur A. Houghton, Jr., is a unique copy.

<i>Date</i>		<i>Publisher</i>	<i>Place</i>
BRAILLE (<i>Continued</i>)			
1921	W	National Institute for the Blind ³	London
1924		American Red Cross ⁴	Boston
1926		American Red Cross ⁵	Philadelphia
1926	W	American Printing House for the Blind	Louisville, Ky.
1932		American Printing House for the Blind ⁶	Louisville, Ky.
1953	W	American Printing House for the Blind	Louisville, Ky.
BULGARIAN			
1933	W	T. F. Chipeff	Sofia
CHINESE			
Jan. 1922	W	Commercial Press	Shanghai
Jan. 1923	W	Commercial Press	Shanghai
Nov. 1924	W	Commercial Press	Shanghai
June 1926	W	Commercial Press	Shanghai
1927		Commercial Press	Shanghai
April 5, 1931	W	Commercial Press	Shanghai
April 1933	W	Commercial Press	Shanghai
Oct. 1933		Commercial Press	Shanghai

³ The National Institute for the Blind, London, also published in 1925, in Grade 1 (uncontracted) Braille, a two-volume edition of *Alice Through the Looking Glass*, these two volumes having catalogue numbers 6350 and 6351. In 1931 the Institute published a Grade 2 (fully contracted) Braille edition of *Through the Looking-Glass* in a single volume, catalogue number 13021.

⁴ This copy and the next one listed were produced before "press-printed" editions were possible. Thus they had to be produced in unique copies by hand. Mr. Charles Gallozzi, Assistant Chief of the Reference Department of the Division for the Blind of the Library of Congress, informs me that these two copies "are in all probability worn out by now and no longer in existence."

⁵ See note 4, above.

⁶ The dramatization of *Alice in Wonderland and Through the Looking-Glass* arranged by Ruth Vivian and as adapted for the stage by Eva Le Gallienne and Florida Friebus, published by Samuel French, New York City, in 1932.

*Translator**Remarks*

—	First Braille edn.
Transcribed by	3 vols.
Margaret A. P. Chamberlain	
Transcribed by	
Martha K. Thompson	
—	Grade 1½ Braille. 2 vols.
—	Grade 1½ Braille
—	Grade 2 Braille. 3 vols.; includes <i>Through the Looking-Glass</i>
Lazar Goldman	1st Bulgarian edn.
Y. R. Chao	1st Chinese edn. ⁷
Y. R. Chao	2nd edn.
Y. R. Chao	3rd edn.
Y. R. Chao	4th edn.
Y. R. Chao	Students' Library Series, 5th edn.
Y. R. Chao	6th edn.
Y. R. Chao	7th edn., or 1st post-1932 edn. ⁸
Hsu Ying-Ch'ang	An abbreviated edition, prepared by Marjory Collier ⁹

⁷ The preface by Dr. Chao is dated "Peking, June 1, 1921."

⁸ The Commercial Press was destroyed in the Shanghai fighting, and the editions subsequent to this are labeled "post-1932," or "... Edition after the trouble in China," or "after the national crisis."

⁹ This book states that the translation was made by Hsu, as stated above, and the abbreviation carried out by Marjory Collier. But Dr. Chao has told me that the abbreviation (which is all that is available) rather closely follows *his* translation. So it is not entirely clear what was the role of Hsu Ying-Ch'ang.

<i>Date</i>		<i>Publisher</i>	<i>Place</i>
CHINESE (<i>Continued</i>)			
Oct. 1934	W	Commercial Press	Shanghai
1936		Commercial Press	Shanghai
?		Commercial Press	Shanghai
?		Commercial Press	Shanghai
1939		Commercial Press	Shanghai
1945		—	—
March 1947	W	Commercial Press	Shanghai
1948		Yung Hsiang Press	Shanghai
1951		San Min Book Co.	Hong Kong
1955	W	San Min Book Co.	Hong Kong
?		Jih-Hsin Book Co.	Hong Kong
Feb. 1961	W	Jih-Hsin Book Co.	Hong Kong
July 1961	W	Tsin Hsiu Press	Hong Kong
Feb. 1962		Commercial Press	Peking
Oct. 1962	W	Commercial Press	Peking
Oct. 1962		Ta Chung Shu Chü	Taiwan
1963(?)	W	English Language Publishing House	Hong Kong
March 1, 1963	W	Oriental Publishing House	Taiwan
CROATIAN			
1959	W	Mladost	Zagreb
CZECH			
1931	W	B. Moser	Prague
1931	W	Fr. Borový	Prague
1949		Svoboda	Prague
?		Mladéletá	Bratislava

Translator

Remarks

Hsu Ying-Ch'ang	An abbreviated edition, prepared by Marjory Collier. 2nd edn.
Hsu Ying-Ch'ang	Contains only the "second section" of <i>Alice</i>
Y. R. Chao	8th edn., or 2nd post-1932 edn.
Y. R. Chao	9th edn., or 3rd post-1932 edn.
Y. R. Chao	10th edn., or 4th post-1932 edn.
Lin Chih-Ken	An English-Chinese bilingual edn. ¹⁰
Y. R. Chao	11th edn., or 5th post-1932 edn.
—	Contains "third section only"
Lin Chih-Ken	
Lin Chih-Ken	Labeled 4th printing
Ch'üan Fan	
Ch'üan Fan	2nd edn.
Wang P'ei	English edn. for use in schools, with Chinese notes and vocabulary
G. K. Maghidson-Stepanova	Abridged, in English and Chinese, with notes
G. K. Maghidson-Stepanova	2nd edn.
Wang Tsu-p'ei	Includes <i>Through the Looking-Glass</i>
Lin Chih Ken	English and Chinese, with notes
Hung Yen-ch'iu	1st edn., abridged
Mira Jurkić-Šunjić	1st Croatian edn.
Jaroslav Cisař	1st Czech edn.
Jaroslav Cisař	Includes <i>Through the Looking-Glass</i>
Jaroslav Cisař	
Šarlota Barániková	Includes <i>Through the Looking-Glass</i>

¹⁰ The preface, dated November 3, 1945, states that this was based on "the abbreviated edition published in 1934 by the Commercial Press." One would therefore expect that it was based on the Hsu Ying-Ch'ang version listed above. But Dr. Chao states that the Chinese portion of the Lin Chih-Ken bilingual version bears no resemblance to the translation by him, whereas the Marjory Collier abbreviation of the Hsu translation *is* closely related to his translation.

<i>Date</i>		<i>Publisher</i>	<i>Place</i>
DANISH			
1875	W	Fr. Wøldike	Copenhagen
1912		V. Pio	Copenhagen
1930	W	Jespersen og Pio	Copenhagen
Nov. 1946	W	Thorkild Beck	Copenhagen
Sept. 1947	W	Thorkild Beck	Copenhagen
1951(?)	W	Branner og Korch	Copenhagen
1951		Raben & Sjögren	Stockholm
?	W	Illustrerede Klassikere	Copenhagen
?		Thorkild Beck	Copenhagen
1957	W	Thorkild Beck	Copenhagen
DUTCH			
1875 ¹¹	W	Blomhert & Timmerman	Nijmegen
1899	W	E. J. Brill	Leiden
1912		Hepkema	Heerenveen
1920	W	Van Holkema & Warendorf	Amsterdam
1922	W	Hepkema	Heerenveen
1924	W	B. J. Wolters	Groningen
1947	W	Ad. Donker	Rotterdam & Antwerp
1949		Ad. Donker	Rotterdam
1952		A. Van Gelder	Antwerp
1952		Van Goor Zonen	The Hague
1953		Van Goor Zonen	The Hague
1954		Van Goor Zonen	The Hague
1955		Van Ditmar	Amsterdam
1955		Ad. Donker	Rotterdam
ESPERANTO			
1910	W	British Esperanto Association	London
FINNISH			
1906		Werner Söderström	Helsinki
1952	W	Tammi (J. Helleman)	Helsinki
1952	W	Werner Söderström	Helsinki
1958	W	Werner Söderström	Helsinki

¹¹ This volume is not dated, and is variously ascribed to 1874 and 1875.

*Translator**Remarks*

D. G.	1st Danish edn.
D. G.	2nd edn.
Axel Mathiesen	
Kjeld Elfelt	Includes <i>Through the Looking-Glass</i>
Kjeld Elfelt	2nd edn.
T. Gregersen	Disney edn.
John-Lennart Linder	
H. Rasmussen	Comic-strip version
Kjeld Elfelt	
Kjeld Elfelt	2nd edn.
—	
R. ten Raai	Abridged: 1st Dutch edn.
—	1st complete Dutch edn.
R. ten Raai	
—	2 vols.
B. Westerveld	
C. Reedijk & Alfred Kossmann	
C. Reedijk & Alfred Kossmann	Includes <i>Through the Looking-Glass</i>
Henriette Van Hoorn	
M. C. van Oven-van Doorn	
M. C. van Oven-van Doorn	2nd edn.
M. C. van Oven-van Doorn	3rd edn.
Martin Deelen	
C. Reedijk & Alfred Kossmann	
E. L. Kearney	1st Esperanto edn.
Anni Swan	1st Finnish edn.
Torben Gregersen	Disney abridgment
Anni Swan	
Anni Swan	2nd edn. of preceding item

<i>Date</i>		<i>Publisher</i>	<i>Place</i>
FINNISH (<i>Continued</i>)			
N.D.		Kynäbaari	Helsinki
FRENCH			
1869	W	Macmillan	London
1870		Hachette	Paris
1908		Hachette	Paris
1908		Ballantyne	London
1910		Larousse	Paris
1912 ¹²		—	—
1913	W	Th. Nelson	Paris
1919		Th. Nelson	London
1929		Th. Nelson	London
1930	W	Les Oeuvres Représentatives	Paris
1931	W	Les Oeuvres Représentatives	Paris
1932	W	Denoël et Steele	Paris
1932	W	Th. Nelson	Paris
1934		Th. Nelson	Paris
1934	W	Henri Didier	Paris
1935	W	Delagrave	Paris
1935		Th. Nelson	Paris
1938		Delagrave	Paris
1938	W	Paul Duval	Paris
1938		Th. Nelson	Paris
1938	W	Th. Nelson	Paris
1939	W	Gründ	Paris
1939		Imperial Book Co. ¹³	—
1948		Le Club français du livre	Paris
1948		Editions G. P.	Paris
1948		Delagrave	Paris
1948		F. Hazan	Paris
1949	W	Flammarion	Paris
1949		Flammarion	Paris
1950		Hachette	Paris
1951		La Guilde du Livre	Lausanne

¹² Abridged edition mentioned in W. & M. — G.

¹³ Mentioned in W. & M. — G.

Translator

Remarks

—	
Henri Bué	1st French edn.
—	
—	
—	
B. H. Gausseran	
—	Abridged
—	Abridged
—	Modern Study Series
R. L. Graeme Ritchie	Modern Study Series, #52
M. Fayet	Includes <i>Through the Looking-Glass</i>
M. Fayet	Includes <i>Through the Looking-Glass</i>
Michel J. Arnauld	
—	An adaptation
M. Fayet	
Ronald Windross	Abridged and simplified
H. Rouillard	Three forms: Paper, cloth, and large silver cloth; includes <i>Through the Looking-Glass</i>
M. Fayet	
H. Rouillard	
René Bour	
M. Fayet	Includes <i>Through the Looking-Glass</i>
—	An adaptation
E. Bonville & J. Abraham	
—	
André Bay	
R. and A. Phrophétie	
H. Rouillard	
Anne Marie Ramet	Includes <i>Through the Looking-Glass</i>
Guy Trédez	Illus. by A. J. Davy
Guy Trédez	Illus. by A. Sequer
Marie-Madeleine Fayet	
René Bour	

<i>Date</i>	<i>Publisher</i>	<i>Place</i>
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FRENCH (*Continued*)

1951	Bias	Paris
1952	Gautier-Languereau	Paris
1953	Bias	Paris
1953	Costerman	Paris
1955	Bias	Paris
1955	Le club des libraries de France	Paris
1955	Editions Mondiales del Duca	Paris
1956	O. Z.	Paris
1956	Delagrave	Paris
1956	W Gautier-Languereau	Paris
1959	W Fabbri	Milan
N.D.	Momm ¹⁴	Paris
N.D. ¹⁵	—	Paris
N.D.	W Hachette	Paris

GERMAN

1869	Hartknoch	Leipzig
1869	W Hartknoch	Leipzig
1869	W Macmillan	London
1885 ¹⁶	—	—
1912	Kiepenheuer	Weimar
1922	W Der Bund	Nuremberg
1923	W Sesam	Vienna
1923	—	Würzburg
1924	Sesam	Vienna
1925	W Sesam	Vienna
1927	W Der Bund	Nuremberg
1928	W Kellerer	Munich
1931	W Meidingers Jugendschriften	Berlin
1948	Minerva	Berlin
1948	Hermes	Hamburg
1948	Die Egge Verlag	Nuremberg
1948	Globus Verlags Gesellschaft	Hamburg

¹⁴ Mentioned in W. & M. — G. Copy in Library of Congress.¹⁵ Mentioned in W. & M. — G.¹⁶ Copy reported in W. & M. — G. as owned by Mrs. Maud Ffooks, of Kingscote, Dorchester, Dorset.

*Translator**Remarks*

—
 Marcia Martin An adaptation
 Eric Vaujean Extracts
 Jeanne Cappe

—
 André Bay

—
 H. Rouillard

—
 Marcia Martin An adaptation
 — Abridged
 —

M. J. Armond
 — Comics

A. Zimmermann Buff boards, 1st German edn., 1st
 issue?

A. Zimmermann Green cloth, 1st edn., 2nd issue

A. Zimmermann

—
 Helene Scheu-Riesz

R. G. L. Barrett

Helene Scheu-Riesz

—
 Helene Scheu-Riesz

Helene Scheu-Riesz

21st to 25th 1000

R. G. L. Barrett

3rd to 8th 1000

A. Bernhart & W. H. Wells

English with German notes

Klara Sternbeck

Werner Bloch

Kurt Hansen

W. G. Schreckenbach

Gerda Wachsmuth & Peter A. Harn

<i>Date</i>		<i>Publisher</i>	<i>Place</i>
GERMAN (<i>Continued</i>)			
1949		Riederer	Stuttgart
1950		Middelhauve	Opladen
1954		Droemer	Munich
1955		Kunst im Druck Obpacher	Munich
1958		Droemer	Munich
1958	W	Middelhauve	Opladen
1960	W	Artemis	Zurich & Stuttgart
N.D.	W	Vollmer	Wiesbaden & Berlin
N.D. ¹⁷	W	Wartigs-Hoppe	Leipzig
N.D. ¹⁸	W	Wartigs-Hoppe	Leipzig
N.D.	W	F. Schöningh	Paderborn
GREEK			
1951(?)	W	M. Pechlivanides	Athens
1956	W	Atlantis	Athens
HEBREW			
1923	W	—	Tel Aviv
1924	W	Omonuth	Frankfurt
1950	W	El Hamayan	Tel Aviv
1951	W	Mahbarot lesifrut	Tel Aviv
1951	W	Israel Publishing House	—
1954		Yavneh	Tel Aviv
1958	W	Mahbarot lesifrut	Tel Aviv
HINDI (India)			
1956		Bharati Sahitya mandir	Delhi
1961	W	Rajkamal Prakashan	Delhi
1961	W	Rajpal & Sons	Delhi
1961		Rani Prakashan	Delhi

¹⁷ This appears to be rather early, perhaps roughly 1930. The translator is not stated. The text is closely similar to, but not identical with, the 1869 edition. I have four copies labeled "2nd Edition," with bindings of different colors.

¹⁸ See note 17, above. I have five copies labeled "3rd Edition," differing in binding color.

*Translator**Remarks*

Karl Köstlin	
Kurt Schrey	
Wolfgang Freitag	
Sybil Gräfin Schönfeldt	
Wolfgang Freitag	
Kurt Schrey	
Anita Hüttenmoser	Labeled 2nd edn.
Ingrid Strasser	
—	Labeled 2nd edn.
—	Labeled 3rd edn.
Franz Ewald	English, with German notes
—	
C. Emmanouil	Comic-strip version 1st Greek edn.
L. Simon	1st Hebrew edn.
L. Simon	
A. Bin Nun	Abridged
Aahron Amir	Includes <i>Through the Looking-Glass</i>
A. J. Jakubovitz	
A. Y. Nizzani	
Aahron Amir	
Kishor Garg	1st Hindi edn.
Shamsher Bahadur Singh	
Kant Viyas	Labeled 3rd edn.
Kishor Garg	Labeled 3rd edn.

<i>Date</i>		<i>Publisher</i>	<i>Place</i>
HUNGARIAN			
1924		—	Budapest
1926		Pallas	Budapest
1929	W	Béta Irodalmi Részvénytársaság Kiadása	Budapest
1935	W	R. Gergely	Budapest
?	W	R. Gergely	Budapest
1958	W	Mora Kiadó	Budapest
1958		Szlovákiai Szepirodalmi Kiadó	Bratislava
1958		Mora Kiadó, Athenaeum Press	Budapest
ICELANDIC			
N.D.	W	Bókaútgáfan Röðull	Hafnarfirdi
N.D.	W	Gudjón Gudjónsson	—
IRISH			
1922	W	Maunsel agus Roberts, teo	Dublin
ITALIAN			
1871		Macmillan ²⁰	London
1872	W	Macmillan	London
1872		E. Loescher	Turin
1908	W	Istituto d'Arti Grafiche	Bergamo
1924	W	Istituto d'Arti Grafiche	Bergamo
1935		Mediolanum	Milan
?		Soc. Editrice Internazionale	Turin
1950	W	Industrie Grafiche Italiane	Milan
1950		Universale Economica	Milan
1950	W	Edizioni Ramella	Turin
Nov. 1952	W	Universale Economica	Milan
1952		Francheschini	Florence
1953		Universale Economica	Milan

²⁰ Probably unique copy with erroneous date. Owned by Princeton.

*Translator**Remarks*

—	1st Hungarian edn. ¹⁹
M. Altay	Revision, published as a supplement to the magazine <i>Tundervasar</i>
Juhász Andor	
Kosztolányi Dezső	
Kosztolányi Dezső	2nd edn.
Kosztolányi Dezső.	
Revised by Szobotka Tibor	
—	Published for Hungarian children in Slovakia
—	Edn. for Hungarian children in Rumania
Halldór G. Ólafsson	
—	Disney edn.
Padriac O'Cathla	1st Irish edn.
T. Petrocòla-Rossetti	
T. Petrocòla-Rossetti	1st Italian edn., 1st issue
T. Petrocòla-Rossetti	1st edn., 2nd issue
Emma C. Cagli	
Emma C. Cagli	
Mario Benzi	
Adriana Valori-Piperno	
Gladys Favara Klien	
Giusto Vittorini & Tommaso Giglio	
Alda Radicati	
Tommaso Giglio	Labeled 2nd edn.
Vito Montemagno	
Tommaso Giglio	Labeled 3rd edn.

¹⁹ Listed with no details in W. & M. — G.

<i>Date</i>		<i>Publisher</i>	<i>Place</i>
ITALIAN (<i>Continued</i>)			
1953	W	Principato	Milan
1953	W	Fabbri	Milan
Oct. 1954	W	Soc. Editrice Internazionale	Turin
1954		Fabbri	Milan
Nov. 1955	W	S.A.I.E.	Turin
1955		—	Rijeka
1956	W	C.E.L.I.	Bologna
1962		Aria Editore	Milan
N.D.	W	Istituto Editoriale Italiano	Milan
"1872"	W	Macmillan	London
JAPANESE			
1920		Seika Shoin	Tokyo
1923		Kogyokudo Shoten	Tokyo
1925		Idea Shoten	Tokyo
1925		—	—
Dec. 1925	W	—	—
1926		Seiundo	Tokyo
1926		Kinnohoshisha	Tokyo
1927		Kobunsha	Tokyo
1927		Bunkōdō	Tokyo
1929		Eibungakusha	Tokyo
1929		Gaikokugo Kengyusha	Tokyo
1929	W	Kenkyusha	Tokyo
1930		Kenkyusha	Tokyo
March 1931	W	Kinnohoshisha	Tokyo
Dec. 1932	W	Araki Toshihiro	Tokyo
1934	W	Kinnohoshisha	Tokyo
1934		Kenkyusha	Tokyo
1948		—	Tokyo
1949		Komine Shoten	Tokyo
1950	W	Komine Shoten	Tokyo
1950	W	Fukuro	Tokyo
1950		Koyama Shoten	Tokyo
Dec. 1950		Kodansha	Tokyo

Translator

Remarks

Paolo Mino	
Mariagrazia Leopizzi	
Adriana Valori-Piperno	
Emma Saracchi	
Rina Tillier & Italo Grange	
Nives Viskovic	Published in Yugoslavia
Orio Vergani	
Maria Valente	Contains biography, letters, etc.
—	Contains <i>Through the Looking-Glass</i> , which comes first!
T. Pietrocòla-Rossetti	Remainder issue
Masao Kusuyama	1st Japanese edn.
Kozo Mochizuki	
Tomoji Washio	Has title "Strange Garden"
Ōto Kiichiro	
Shigeo Masumoto	
Shigeo Masumoto	Has title "Dream of Flapper Girl"
Ōto Kiichiro	
Ryunosuke Akutagawa & Kan Kikuuchi	Primary School Pupil's Library, #28
S. Aoyama	
Saisuke Nagasawa	English & Japanese
Saisuke Nagasawa	English & Japanese
Mimpei Iwasaki	English & Japanese
Mimpei Iwasaki	English & Japanese
Ōto Kiichiro	World Little Boys' & Girls' Classic Series, #22
Saisuke Nagasawa	English & Japanese
Ōto Kiichiro	Children's Famous Stories Series
Saisuke Nagasawa	
Masao Kusuyama	
Masao Kusuyama	
Masao Kusuyama	Labeled 4th edn.
Kenichi Yoshida	
Kenichi Yoshida	
Masao Kusuyama	

<i>Date</i>		<i>Publisher</i>	<i>Place</i>
JAPANESE (<i>Continued</i>)			
1952		Sogensha	Tokyo
1952		Kenkyusha	Tokyo
1952	W	Kadokawa	Tokyo
Nov. 1952	W	Kodansha	Tokyo
1953	W	Nakamuro Shoten	Tokyo
1953		Sogensha	Tokyo
1953	W	Gorokuma	Tokyo
1953	W	Akebono	Tokyo
1954		Sogensha	Tokyo
1955		Iwanami Shoten	Tokyo
1958	W	Akane Shobo	Tokyo
1960	W	Iwanami Shoten	Tokyo
April 1961	W	Kaiseisha	Tokyo
1961		Kodansha	Tokyo
May 1961		Kaiseisha	Tokyo
KANARESE (India)			
1956	W	Kanada Prapanha Prakashana	Mangalore
KOREAN			
June 5, 1963	W	Kae Mong Sha	Seoul
LITHUANIAN			
1957	W	Valstybinė Grožinės Literatūros Leidykla	Vilna
NORWEGIAN			
1903	W	Olaf Norli	Kristiania (Oslo)
1946	W	J. W. Eides Forlag	Bergen
N.D.	W	Tiden Norsk Forlag	Oslo
ORIYA (India)			
1949		Bharati Bihar	Cuttack

*Translator**Remarks*

Masao Kusuyama	
Mimpei Iwasaki	
Mimpei Iwasaki	
Masao Kusuyama	Labeled 5th printing of 1950 edn.
Kunic Nakamuro	Comics
Masao Kusuyama	
—	Condensed version
Four writers	Comics
Kenichi Yoshida	Collected Works of Children's World Literature, #61
Toshio Tanaka	
Yukio Mishima	Vol. 38 of series: Pictorial Library of the World
Toshio Tanaka	2nd edn. Vol. 95, Iwanami's Children's Library
Ema Shoko	
Akira Honda	Collected Works of Children's World Literature
Yukio Tsuchiya	Also contains <i>Peter Pan</i>
Sankara Bhat	1st Kanarese edn.
Nak Wong Han	1st Korean edn.
K. Griggs	1st Lithuanian edn.
Margrethe Horn	1st Norwegian edn.
Zinken Hopp	
Alf Prøysen	Disney edn.
Raghunath Das	1st Oriya edn.

<i>Date</i>		<i>Publisher</i>	<i>Place</i>
PIDGIN			
1935	W	—	—
POLISH			
1927	W	Gebethnera I. Wolffa	Warsaw
1932	W	Gebethnera I. Wolffa	Warsaw
1938		—	Lwow
1947	W	Gebethnera I. Wolffa	Warsaw
1955	W	Nasza Księgarnia	Warsaw
PORTUGUESE			
1931		Comp. Editora Nacional	São Paulo
1933	W	Comp. Editora Nacional	São Paulo
1943		Edição da Liv. do Globo	Porto Alegre
1960	W	Editôra Brasiliense	São Paulo
N.D.	W	Melhoramentos	São Paulo
N.D.	W	J. R. Torres & Co.	Lisbon
N.D.		Vecchi	Rio de Janeiro
RUMANIAN			
1956		Editura fineretuli	Bucharest
RUSSIAN			
1879		—	Moscow ²¹
?		S-P-G Wolf	—
1909		<i>Tropinka</i> (a journal)	St. Petersburg
1923	W	Gamayun	Berlin
1923		L. D. Frenkel	Moscow
1929		L. D. Frenkel	Moscow
1946		Rostizdat	Rostov
1958	W	State Printing House of Children's Literature	Moscow

²¹ A copy described as of this date, published in Moscow, was sold at Sotheby's, Lot 91, on March 3, 1958. See Chapter V, pages 60-61.

*Translator**Remarks*

—	Unpublished MS of Chapter VII, "A Mad Tea-Party"
Marji Morawskiej	1st Polish edn.
Marji Morawskiej	
—	
Marji Morawskiej	
Antoni Marianowicz	
Monteiro Lobato	1st Portuguese edn.
Monteiro Lobato	2nd edn.
Pepita de Leão	
Monteiro Lobato	Labeled 9th edn.
Maria Thereza Cunha de Giacomo	Labeled 4th edn.
A. Morais	
—	
Elizabetha Gălăteanu	1st Rumanian edn.
—	
A. I. Rozhdestvenskaya ²²	
"Allegro" (Poliksena Sergeevna Solov'eva)	
V. Sirin (pseudonym of V. Nabokov)	
A. d'Actil	
A. d'Actil	
Aleksandr Olenicha-Ghenenko	For younger children
Aleksandr Olenicha-Ghenenko	

²² See further details in Chapter V, page 60.

<i>Date</i>		<i>Publisher</i>	<i>Place</i>
RUSSIAN (<i>Continued</i>)			
1958		Publishing House of Literature in Foreign Languages	Moscow
1959		Publishing House of Literature in Foreign Languages	Moscow
1960		—	Moscow
1960	W	State Textbook Publishing House	Leningrad
1960	W	Rostov Book Publishing House	Rostov
1961	W	Khabarovsk Printing House	Khabarovsk (Siberia)
N.D.		M. Granstrom	—
SERBIAN			
1923	W	Vrepl	Belgrade
1951	W	Dečja Knjiga	Belgrade
SHORTHAND			
1889		C. J. Clay	London
1909		Guilbert Pitman	London
1912		Putnam	New York
1915	W	Gregg Publishing Co.	New York, etc.
1920		Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons	London
1920		Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons	New York
1921		Gregg Publishing Co.	New York
1927		Gregg Publishing Co.	New York, etc.
1929		Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons	London
1930	W	Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons	London
1930	W	Pitman Co.	New York
1931		Gregg Publishing Co.	New York
1956		Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons	London
1960		Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons	London

Translator

Remarks

—	An adaptation
—	An adaptation
L. Uchpedgiz	Adaptation: English reader
G. K. Maghidson-Stepanova	English text for 6th form, secondary school, with Russian notes and vocabulary
Aleksandr Olenicha-Ghenenko	Marked "for young adults"
Aleksandr Olenicha-Ghenenko	
M. Granstrom	Has title " <i>Adventures of Ani in the World of Wonders</i> —after L. Carroll"
Stanislav Vinnaver	
Luka Semenovič	1st Serbian edn.
Callendar's Cursive	Chapter VII only. Probably 1st Shorthand edn.
Pitman	#10 Pitman's Shorthand Library; 1st Pitman edn. Reprinted from the <i>Shorthand World</i> , Feb. 1908—Jan. 1909
Cursive	Chapter VII only
Gregg	1st Gregg edn.
Intermediate Stage	
Intermediate Stage	
—	Gregg's Shorthand Classics
—	
Intermediate Stage	
Intermediate Stage	
Intermediate Stage	New Era edn.
—	Gregg's Shorthand Classics
Intermediate Stage	
Intermediate Stage	A re-issue of the 1956 edn.

<i>Date</i>		<i>Publisher</i>	<i>Place</i>
SLOVENIAN			
1951		Mladinska Knjiga	Ljubljana
SPANISH			
1922	W	Edit. Rivademeyra	Madrid
June 1927		Edit. Mentora	Barcelona
Oct. 1927	W	Edit. Mentora	Barcelona
1928		Edit. Mentora	Barcelona
Dec. 1930	W	Edit. Mentora	Barcelona
Nov. 1931	W	Edit. Mentora	Barcelona
Feb. 1935		Edit. Mentora	Barcelona
Oct. 1942		Edit. Mentora	Barcelona
1946	W	Ed. Codex	Buenos Aires
Oct. 1947		Edit. Mentora	Barcelona
Sept. 1949	W	Acme Agency	Buenos Aires
1952		Acme Agency	Buenos Aires
1952		Mateu	Barcelona
1952		Imprensa Lucas	Lisbon
Nov. 1952		Edit. Mentora	Barcelona
1953		Acme Agency	Buenos Aires
1955		Bruquera	Barcelona
1955		—	Santiago de Chile
1955		Peuser	Buenos Aires
July 1958	W	Edit. Juventud	Barcelona
1960	W	Edit. Molino	Barcelona
N.D.	W	Edit. Cervantes	Barcelona
N.D.		Edit. Juventud	Barcelona
SWAHILI			
1940	W	Sheldon Press	London
1951	W	Sheldon Press	London
1954	W	Sheldon Press	London

*Translator**Remarks*

Bogo Pregelj	1st Slovenian edn.
—	1st Catalan edn.
Josep Carner	Catalan
Juan Gutierrez Gili	1st Castilian edn. A “regular” edn. and a larger “regal” edn. in several variants of binding color
Juan Gutierrez Gili	
Josep Carner	
Juan Gutierrez Gili	2nd edn. “Regular” and “regal,” as the 1st edn.
Juan Gutierrez Gili	3rd edn.
Juan Gutierrez Gili	4th edn.
M. A. Gomez	Abridged
Juan Gutierrez Gili	5th edn.
M. Barberá	
M. Barberá	
R. Ballester Escales	
Henriques Marques, Jr.	
Juan Gutierrez Gili	6th edn.
J. J. Llobet	
Maria Marti	An adaptation
—	
Luis Echavarri	
Juan Gutierrez Gili	7th edn. Still in “regular” and “regal” sizes
—	Abridged
—	Abridgment: Collection Azure, #5
—	Catalan
E. V. St. Lo Conan-Davies	1st complete Swahili edn. ²³
E. V. St. Lo Conan-Davies	New impression by offset
E. V. St. Lo Conan-Davies	New impression by offset

²³ A translation of Chapter I was published in 1911. See Chapter V, page 59, n. 6.

<i>Date</i>		<i>Publisher</i>	<i>Place</i>
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SWAHILI (*Continued*)

1961	W	Sheldon Press	London
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SWEDISH

1870	W	Oscar L. Lamm	Stockholm
1898	W	P. A. Norstedt & Sömer	Stockholm
1917	W	Magn. Bergvall	Stockholm
1921	W	Holger Schildt	Helsinki
1923	W	C. W. K. Gleerup	Lund

1923	W	C. W. K. Gleerup	Lund
------	---	------------------	------

1936	W	Centraltryckeriet	Helsinki
1936		Natur o Kultur	Stockholm
1938		Natur o Kultur	Stockholm
1950		Natur o Kultur	Stockholm
1953		Natur o Kultur	Stockholm

THAI

1959-60	W	—	Bangkok
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TURKISH

1932	W	Nasiri: Muhit Mecmuasi	Istanbul
Nov. 1943		Varlik Yayinevi	Istanbul
1946	W	Millî Eğitim Basimevi	Ankara
1953		Varlik Yayinevi	Istanbul
1956		Varlik Yayinevi	Istanbul
1956		Rafet Zaimler Yayinevi	Istanbul
1960	W	Good Day Publishing House	Istanbul
Dec. 1960		Varlik Yayinevi	Istanbul
Jan. 1961	W	Varlik Yayinevi	Istanbul
N.D.		Ekin Basimevi	Istanbul

*Translator**Remarks*

E. V. St. Lo Conan-Davies	New impression by offset
Emily Nonnen	1st Swedish edn.
Louise Arosenius	
Joel Söderberg	
Nino Runeberg	
—	In English for school use; see next item
G. Björkland & S. B. T. Davidsson	English & Swedish word lists for preceding item
Nino & Arne Runeberg	
Nino & Arne Runeberg	
Nino & Arne Runeberg	
Gemma Funtek-Snellman	
Gemma Funtek-Snellman	
—	Contained in 12 successive issues, Sept. 12, 1959, to Feb. 8, 1960, of <i>Youth's Weekly</i> (<i>Daroonsarn</i> , in Thai), Miss Nilawan Pintong, editor
Ahmet Cevat	1st Turkish edn.
Azize Erten	Teen-age Books, # 10
Kismet Burian	
Azize Erten	
Azize Erten	
Nurettin Ardiç	
Leylâ Soydas & Bige Atasagun	
Azize Erten	Teen-age Books, # 10
Azize Erten	Teen-age Books, # 10
M. Z. Gülsoy	

<i>Date</i>	<i>Publisher</i>	<i>Place</i>
UMBUNDU (North Central Uplands, Angola) 1956	W —	—
URDU ?	West Pakistan Publishing Co.	Lahore
WELSH 1953	W Garaog Gee	Denbigh

*Translator**Remarks*

— Unpublished manuscript of Chapter
I only, translated by missionary²⁴

Saieda Zuberi 1st Urdu edn.

M. Selyf Roberts 1st Welsh edn.

²⁴ The chapter begins: "Alice wa tumala konele ya mbuale yahe konele yolui." The manuscript is owned by Dr. Lall G. Montgomery, of Muncie, Indiana. I have a photocopy of it.

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